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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

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Front cover illustration: Paul Gustav Doré, *Fall of Lucifer*, illustration for John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in the 1866 edition. St. Michael, as an armed angel of light, drives Lucifer and his hosts out of heaven at swordpoint.

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LETTERS

The Gift of Mercy

I commend the *Journal of Mormon History* for publishing Gary Bergera's article, "Transgression in the LDS Community: The Cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith, Part 1" (37 [Summer 2011]: 118–61). It demonstrates that the *Journal of Mormon History* is willing to break new ground. Writings that treat only the faithful side of leaders and leave out their human failings are bad history.

The article's thorough research and respectful tone make it a valued contribution to Mormon studies. It not only adds to the body of knowledge about Carrington, but also gives insight into the other apostles as they struggled to deal with his transgressions. These insights and how Bergera has presented them are genuine contributions that can stand as models for other biographical work.

The article does not focus solely on the mistakes of one apostle but shows how the Quorum of the Twelve dealt (perhaps still deals?) with disciplinary matters, a process probably unknown to most readers. It is particularly interesting to see that, in the end, the other apostles came to understand the overriding importance of mercy. Surprisingly none of them mentioned, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone" (paraphrase of John 8:7). Nevertheless, Church members can be proud that their leaders did indeed come down on the

side of compassion. I look forward to the next two parts.

Polly Aird
Seattle, Washington

Candor and Completeness

The *Journal of Mormon History* is known in the Mormon scholarly community as the cream of the crop, often because it is the first published source of cutting-edge history. This latest issue is no exception. I found the articles in 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011) by Jonathan A. Stapley ("Early Mormon Adoptive Theology and the Mechanics of Salvation," 53–117), Gary J. Bergera ("Transgression in the LDS Community: The Cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith," Part 1, 118–61), and Sherman L. Fleek ("The Kearny/Stockton/Frémont Feud: The Mormon Battalion's Most Significant Contribution in California, 229–57) to be of the highest quality in Mormon studies. Thank you for publishing such work.

Bergera's article was particularly notable in launching a three-part series on transgression, its meaning, and its consequences in the Mormon community using historical examples. The focus of this first article is the excommunication of Apostle Albert Carrington "for the crimes of lewd and lascivious conduct and adultery" (141).

No one would question that such a subject is a sensitive one or that the element of sexual misbehavior by a highly placed leader would be challenging in presenting both content and appropriate tone. Throughout the article, I was impressed that Bergera's candor and completeness in constructing this painful narrative were matched by a seemly and suitable tone, devoid of either moralizing or scandal-mongering.

This article is sympathetic to and honest about Carrington and the other players who participated in this difficult episode in Carrington's life. Bergera quotes extensively from Carrington's diaries, the journals of Carrington's apostolic colleagues, and letters written by the Twelve and First Presidency about Carrington's situation. This kind of information is being made available for the first time, much as Bergera's book was the first to present the illuminating Pottawatomie Minute Book in his *Conflict in Quorum: Orson Pratt, Brigham Young, Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), that documented the important transition of Brigham Young's becoming Church president in 1847.

Bergera's skill as a historian dealing with difficult issues is unmatched in the Mormon historical community. If I were able to choose someone to write an honest biography about me, I would choose Bergera.

The *Journal of Mormon History* deserves a great deal of praise for publishing such a series. I anticipate equal enlightenment from the next two parts.

*Joseph Geisner
Windsor, California*

Greatest Issue Ever

After reading the Summer 2011 (37:3) issue, I have to agree with the assessment of a friend that this may be the single greatest issue of *JMH* ever.

The two articles on adoption were simply fantastic. I am once again blown away by sheer quantity of primary sources that Jonathan Stapley has marshaled. Gary Bergera's article on Albert Carrington was similarly absorbing reading, albeit in a more disturbing fashion. Imagine the furor if a current apostle were found guilty of such conduct! I wish we could see Bergera's work in book form.

*Bryan Buchanan
Salt Lake City*

Cautionary Tale

Gary James Bergera's essay in the *Journal of Mormon History* (37, no. 3 [Summer 2011]: 118–61, "Transgression in the LDS Community: The Cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith" was a fascinating portrayal of how high-ranking leaders of the LDS Church hierarchy during the late nineteenth century were blindsided by and dealt with the transgression and betrayal of an ecclesiastical peer, Elder Albert Carrington.

Using mostly primary sources and first-hand accounts from Church leaders, Bergera's essay tastefully traces, in necessary detail, Carrington's sexual transgressions while serving as a mission president in Europe, his defiant prevarications after charges of sexual impropriety

were brought against him, and his sincere contrition and rebaptism after being excommunicated.

Sections of this essay were difficult to read and reminded me of my experience reading portions of Richard E. Turley, Ronald M. Walker, and Glen M. Leonard's *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). As a believing and practicing Latter-day Saint, anytime I learn of members of the Church committing serious moral and spiritual transgressions (murder and adultery), I wince. However, I found Carrington's self-inflicted plight an instructive, cautionary case study of how a sitting apostle was impacted by transgression, how the institutional Church responded to the transgression, and how this apostle and his family navigated the difficult path of repentance and reconciliation.

Most interesting to me, however, were the parts of Bergera's essay that chronicled the deliberations of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and First Presidency when they grappled with the religious concepts of mercy and justice in the context of Carrington's transgression and subsequent requests for rebaptism. Elder Heber J. Grant's long diary excerpt (152–57) poignantly captures the differences and evolution of opinion that existed in Church leadership at the time.

Plaudits to the *Journal of Mormon History* for publishing this important essay, and to Gary Bergera for his many contributions to Mormon history. I am looking forward to the next two installments.

Michael Harold Paulos
San Antonio, Texas

“Free Exchange of Information”

As a past member of the MHA Executive Board with the assignment of Publications Coordinator, I applaud the *Journal of Mormon History*'s decision to publish Gary James Bergera's three-part series: “Transgression in the LDS Community: The Cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith”—Part 1, Albert Carrington (37, no. 3 [Summer 2011]: 118–61; Part 2, Richard R. Lyman (37, no. 4 [Fall 2011]: 173–207; with Part 3, Joseph F. Smith, forthcoming in the Winter 2012 issue at this writing.

Bergera's article dealt with an extremely sensitive subject, as sexual misbehavior always will be in a religious community that takes chastity and marital fidelity seriously. Mormons may even take these principles with increased seriousness because of the hailstorm of accusations of immorality rained down upon its members because of the historic practice of polygamy. The point at issue, however, is not whether sexual immorality should occur (I believe everyone agrees that it should not) but the historic fact that it *does* occur, even among highly placed leaders. The questions of history, therefore, are: What happened? What does it mean? What were its consequences? And of equal importance are the tone and tastefulness with which these questions are answered.

In my opinion, I thought the first two articles were outstanding pieces of historical research, and I expect no less from Part 3. Bergera used his sources judiciously and without inflammatory or unnecessary com-

mentary. The LDS Church certainly has reason to protect the confidential nature of its disciplinary councils. Bergera, however, handled the subject with honesty and sensitivity. He should be commended for his careful research and appropriate use of documentary sources in these two articles. His clarifying letter in the fall issue ("Updated Documentation," 37, no. 4 [Fall 2011]: ix–x) describes the policy change at the LDS Church History Library in acknowledging its possession of the relevant sources, an ethical decision of transparency that I heartily applaud.

A reader who finds the material shocking (which it is, for the theological and social reasons I mention above) might complain: "What do we have to gain from knowing the loathsome details of a Church leader's transgression?" Descendants of Albert Carrington and Richard R. Lyman might object to making their sexual transgressions public. Has their privacy been violated?

These are considerations worthy of reflection. Aside from the usual understandings in the United States that the right of privacy is limited when a public figure (which a General Authority certainly is) is involved, that both cases were made public by the Church itself, and that, in any case, privacy rights end with death, I would argue that Bergera's articles contribute to our understanding of LDS Church discipline with regard to sexual transgression. Most of the information about contemporary situations consists of first-hand accounts by people who have been excommunicated or who have left the Church, although Church magazines have published a handful of discreet and

anonymous accounts of successful repentance by violators who have chosen to work their way back to full fellowship.

Having had the illuminating experience of serving as a high councilor and on a bishopric on several Church disciplinary councils, I can personally attest to the fairness and inspired judiciousness that characterized those situations within my personal knowledge when a member faces Church discipline. I also understand that such positive experiences are not necessarily universal and that, despite the outline in Doctrine and Covenants 102, Church discipline policies and procedures have evolved over time, including changes made since the Carrington and Lyman cases. But whether we agree with the Church's disciplinary process is irrelevant. Bergera's article gives us greater historical insight into this closed-door practice among Mormons.

Now that we are far enough removed from the events described to spare those involved the embarrassment of public scrutiny and stigma, we can learn three important lessons from these incidents: First, and perhaps most important, good men and women—even religious leaders in positions of high authority—are fallible. Even they, who are outwardly moral, upstanding individuals, can make bad choices.

Second, the Church's court system, or disciplinary process—as imperfect and flawed as it may be—is not unlike our civil court system. It involves representation, the weighing of evidence, testimony, careful adjudication, and the application of law. Finally, these incidents of sexual

transgression tell us that LDS Church leaders are not above the weight of Church discipline. They are subject to the same consequences as any Church member who has made covenants and thereafter transgressed moral laws.

What of the broader issue of whether it is appropriate to publish historical articles that portray at least some Church leaders in an unfavorable light, regardless of whether it is accurately and sensitively done? I firmly take the stance that it is the *Journal's* duty, as carried out by its editor, board, and staff, to uphold the ethical practices expected of all peer-reviewed professional scholarly journals. Widely accepted by professionals in academic research and study are the code of conduct and the guidelines of practice published by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE). Among the duties and responsibilities of journal editors is the mandate for all editors to "champion freedom of expression."¹ While, as the code says, "editors should be accountable for everything published in their journals,"² censorship or suppression of information by scholarly journals certainly goes against the mandate of championing freedom of

expression. If an editor of a scholarly journal withholds a piece of noteworthy, reputable scholarship because it conflicts with his or her personal political or religious views, then it is a breach of this ethical conduct and violates this right to expression and free exchange of information.

By the same token, historians (both professional and nonprofessional) should be familiar with and apply the ethical standards and expectations of trust which should govern their work. The American Historical Association (AHA)—of which the Mormon History Association is an affiliate member—gives historians helpful guidelines of ethical practices. Among other ideal principles advised by the AHA, historians should always seek "the *trust and respect* both of one's peers and of the public at large" by practicing their craft with integrity and honesty.³ The political, social, and religious beliefs of historians can appropriately inform their historical practice when it is applied "with integrity and self-critical fair-mindedness."⁴

We may disagree or object to one another's presentation of the historical record; but reasoned discourse,

¹"Code of Conduct and Best Practice Guidelines for Journal Editors," Committee on Publication Ethics (revised and approved by the COPE Council on March 7, 2011), 1.5, http://publicationethics.org/files/u2/New_Code.pdf (accessed September 12, 2011).

²*Ibid.*, 1.1.

³"Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct," American Historical Association (January 2011), Sec. 2, par. 2, <http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/ProfessionalStandards.cfm> (accessed September 12, 2011); emphasis in original.

⁴*Ibid.*, Sec. 2, par. 9.

based on “fair and honest criticism with tolerance and openness to different ideas”—allows for a fruitful exchange of viewpoints and opinions. “Historians strive constantly to improve our collective understanding of the past through a complex process of *critical dialogue*—with each other, with the wider public, and with the historical record—in which we explore former lives and worlds in search of answers to the most compelling questions of our own time and place.”⁵

The free exchange of information and the preservation of the historical record are vitally important to the historian: “They should respect the confidentiality of clients, students, employers, and others with whom they have a professional relationship. As much as possible, though, they should also strive to serve the historical profession’s preference for open access to, and public discussion of, the historical record.”⁶

I wish to make another point and do so from the position of someone

who has a deep love for Mormonism and its people. The *Journal of Mormon History* is not published to promote or advance the doctrines and beliefs of the LDS Church or of any other Mormon religious group. Its purpose, first and foremost, is “to foster scholarly research and publication in the field of Mormon history,” as its descriptive statement, published in the front matter of every issue, proclaims. Article submissions “that make a contribution to knowledge through new interpretations and/or new information” are given first consideration. If Mormon History Association members who happen to be members of the LDS Church wish to also read faith-promoting history or apologetics, they may and should turn to their official Church magazines, Church-supported journals, and other faith-based publications.

Noel A. Carmack
Price, Utah

⁵Ibid., Sec. 2, par. 1; emphasis in original

⁶Ibid., Sec. 3, par. 5.

“ONE SOUL SHALL NOT BE LOST”: THE WAR IN HEAVEN IN MORMON THOUGHT

Boyd Jay Petersen

ON JANUARY 12, 2010, GLENN BECK, as he put it, went “all Jesus Freak” on his radio show by linking the progressive agenda with Satan’s plan in the premortal world: “If you believe in the war in heaven where a third of the angels were cast out and all of that stuff, it was about man’s choice . . . and Satan’s plan was ‘hey, I’ll save everybody; give me the credit . . . I’ll make sure everybody returns home. It’s going to be fantastic. You just take away their choice and give me the credit.’ Well, gee, I think that plan was rejected because God knew that failure was important for growth.”¹ And in June 2011 when *Newsweek* celebrated “The Mormon Moment” authored by Walter Kirn, Congressman Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.) was quoted as an

BOYD JAY PETERSEN {boyd.petersen@comcast.net} is Program Coordinator for Mormon Studies at Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah. A version of this paper was read at the annual conference of the Mormon History Association, May 29, 2010, and at the Salt Lake Sunstone Symposium on August 5, 2010.

¹Glenn Beck, January 12, 2010. The audio is available in hour two, *The Glenn Beck Program*, <http://www.glennbeck.com/content/show/2010-01-12/>. The specific audio clip can most easily be found at “Beck: Progressives, like Satan, are supplanting God and taking away choice,” *Media Matters*, <http://mediamatters.org/mmtv/201001120016>. Beck returned to the theme again when discussing comments made by Al Gore and alleged com-

example of “an even deeper connection between his faith and his economic and political views. According to Mormon tradition, God and Satan fought a ‘war in heaven’ over the question of moral agency, with God on the side of personal liberty and Satan seeking to enslave mankind. Flake acknowledged that the theme of freedom—and the threat of losing it—runs through much of Mormonism, and “that kind of fits my philosophy.”²

Whether Beck and Kirn were aware that they were describing a uniquely Mormon version of this story or were instead attempting to subliminally convert their audience to Mormon theology is not clear. What is clear is that Beck, especially, follows a long tradition of employing this Mormon narrative of premortal ideological confrontation as a tool for earthly, political debate. Beck was, however, likely unaware that this narrative can be and has been used in radically different ways to support radically different agendas.

Like Beck, we often assume, especially when it comes to scripture, that a text means “just what it says.” But texts, sacred or otherwise, must be interpreted; they require a reader to draw out their meaning. Add to that the fact that sacred texts are not just read but lived by communities. Faithful adherents of scripture look to sacred texts to find their pathway to God and to bring structure and meaning to their lives. This approach inevitably means that believers will read as much into the scriptural texts as they read out of them. In other words, interpreting sacred texts inevitably and unavoidably involves both exegesis and eisegesis. Such is certainly the case for the verses in Mormon scripture that speak of a war in heaven.

By looking at the specific ways the war in heaven narrative is used in LDS discourse, we can see how this narrative is shaped by its readers, how it comes to reflect those readers’ anxieties and desires,

ments made by Obama about “collective salvation.” “Glenn Beck—Gore to 12 Year olds: ‘You Know Things Older People Don’t Know,’” *The Glenn Beck Program*, February 4, 2010, <http://www.glennbeck.com/content/articles/article/198/21049/>, “Obama: Individual Salvation Depends on Collective Salvation,” *The Glenn Beck Program*, July 9, 2010, <http://www.glennbeck.com/content/articles/article/198/42764/> (all items accessed November 22, 2010).

²Walter Kirn “The Mormon Moment,” *Newsweek*, June 5, 2011, <http://www.newsweek.com/2011/06/05/mormons-rock.html> (accessed June 7, 2011).

and how it, in turn, creates a community of believers tethered to cosmic history. To do this, I propose to borrow from (and slightly modify) the four medieval categories of biblical hermeneutics. In this fourfold system, the first level of interpretation was the literal level (or *sensus historicus*), with no underlying meaning. The tropological level (the *sensus tropologicus* or *sensus moralis*) identified a moral message from the scriptural passage. The allegorical level (or *sensus allegoricus*) was the symbolic meaning, most often used to read the Old Testament typologically as prophecy of the events and figures of the New Testament. Finally, the anagogical level (*sensus anagogicus*) revealed the deeper, immediate, often mystical nature of the passage, usually prophesying some future reality.

I use this interpretive lens, not to force LDS interpretation into some outdated frame of reference, but because I believe LDS interpretations fit with remarkable neatness into this framework. In other words, Mormons employ scripture, or at least the war in heaven narrative, in ways similar to those employed by medieval Christians. It is important, however, to understand that these levels of interpretation are not mutually exclusive; an individual can and often does invoke multiple levels of meaning in one discourse. In Mormon thought, the war in heaven has been read as a literal premortal event; as a moral message to orient lives; as an allegory to explain current events; and as an illustration of a prophetic future for God's Church. The narrative explains past, present, and future, and knits the individual Mormon life into the fabric of sacred history.

In this essay, I first focus on the historical antecedents of the war in heaven, the origins and evolution of the narrative in Western religious traditions. Second, I explore the development of the narrative in Mormon thought and its literal level of interpretation. Third, I discuss the tropological level, the moral messages pulled from the text. Fourth, I examine in some detail the allegorical level, the metaphoric interpretations of the text to explain current events. I focus most of the paper on this level, since it most vividly illustrates the Mormon worldview engaging in increasing conflicts about agency. Finally, I conclude with a brief look at the anagogical level—how the narrative is used to portray future prophetic events of Church history.

ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE WAR IN HEAVEN

The idea of a war in heaven is rooted in the biblical story of fallen angels (Gen. 6); a reinterpretation of Isaiah 14; and the apoca-



William Blake, Casting of the Rebel Angels into Hell, 1808. A serene St. Michael, supported by orderly ranks of angels, draws a mighty bow whose arc separates the heavenly hosts from the chaotic wrath and horror of the falling demons.

lyptic writings of John (Rev. 12). An enigmatic passage in Genesis describes the “sons of God,” divine messengers who were sent down to watch over humanity. They were attracted to the human “daughters of men” and transgressed the boundaries God set between them. The offspring of these unions were a celestial-human hybrid that became known as *nephilim* or “fallen ones,” translated in the King James Version as “giants.” Developed in post-biblical Judaism (particularly the Enoch literature), the *nephilim* become monstrous creations that, as Elaine Pagels puts it “took over the earth and polluted it.”³

Around the same time, legends about a high-ranking angel who was cast out of heaven for insubordination were combined with a passage in Isaiah that speaks of the fall of a great prince whose name is translated in Latin as Lucifer (Isa. 14). The apocryphal Latin narrative *Vita Adae et Evae* (Life of Adam and Eve) further develops the narrative of angelic rebellion. The *Vita* speaks of God’s calling the angels together following Adam’s creation to admire and “worship the image of God,” the first human. Satan refuses, stating, “I do not worship Adam. . . . I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me. I am prior to him in creation, before he was made, I was already made. He ought to worship me.” The angel Michael threatens Satan, forcefully urging him to comply. Satan arrogantly replies, “I will set my throne above the stars of heaven and will be like the Most High.”⁴ With the hosts of angels who follow him, Satan is cast out of heaven onto the earth.

In Luke 10:18, Jesus says, “I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.” Later still, the eschatological Revelation of John tells of a “war in heaven” where “Michael and his angels fought against the dragon” and “the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which decieveth the whole world” (Rev. 12:7–9). Despite the past tense of this passage, it was originally read as a

³Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995), 49. See also James R. Davila, “Melchizedek, Michael, and the War in Heaven,” *Society of Biblical Literature 1996 Seminar Papers* 35 (1996): 259–72. A dated but informative survey of these legends from antiquity through the Protestant Reformation is Bernard J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels: The Soldiers of Satan’s Realm* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952).

⁴M. D. Johnson, trans., “The Life of Adam and Eve” [Vita], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 2:262.

prophecy of the last days, the narrator presumably using past tense to record what he had seen in his vision. However, the similarity between this end-of-times conflict and the beginning-of-times conflict found in the *Vita Adae et Evae* caused the two stories to be linked in the minds of readers. The idea that a third of the angels were expelled with Satan comes from Revelation 12:4, which speaks of the dragon's tail casting a third of the stars of heaven to the earth, before the start of the "war in heaven." As Frederick Holweck wrote in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "St. John speaks of the great conflict at the end of time, which reflects also the battle in heaven at the beginning of time."⁵

The narrative crosses into Islam, where the Qur'an tells of the fallen angel Iblis who refused to bow down before Adam, stating, "I am better than him. You created me from fire and created him from clay." God casts Iblis out of heaven, warning, "Whoever follows you among them—I will surely fill Hell with you, all together." On earth, Iblis tempts Adam and Eve and all their posterity (Sura 7:10–20; see also 38:65–88).

Despite the lack of any coherent biblical account, the war in heaven as a trope became central to Christian thought. Speculation about the war in heaven appears throughout the writings of the Christian Church Fathers. Origen believed that the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels effected the creation of the physical world, a cosmic fall into physicality.⁶ In *The City of God*, Augustine refers to the fall of Lucifer as the beginning of sin and expounds on the origin and status of the fallen angels. He also speculates that humans were created to fill the hole left in heaven by the banishment of the fallen angels—how "from this mortal race" God would "collect, as now He does, a people so numerous, that He thus fills up and repairs the blank made by the fallen angels, and that thus that beloved heavenly city is not defrauded of the full number of its citizens, but perhaps may even rejoice in a still more overflowing population."⁷ This replacement theory was continued by Pope Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) and eventually made its way into the Old English poem *Genesis A*, where humanity is

⁵Frederick Holweck, "St. Michael the Archangel," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), 10:276, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm> (accessed April 28, 2010).

⁶See P. Tzamalikikos, *Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), esp. Chap. 3, "The Fall and the Creation of the World."

⁷St. Augustine, *The City of God*, translated by Marcus Dods, George

created to occupy the fallen angels' vacant "thrones, rich in glorious wealth, thriving with gifts, bright and fruitful, in the kingdom of God."⁸

The narrative was further developed in medieval mystery plays, with elaborate mechanical set-pieces called Hell-Mouths, complete with flesh-pots, flame and variously colored smoke, into which Lucifer and the fallen angels are cast. The fifteenth-century York cycle of plays depicts the sin of Lucifer as pride, his angelic hosts falling spontaneously rather than being cast out by God; it also recalls Augustine's replacement theory with God creating humans to take the place of the fallen angels.⁹ The replacement theory reappears in the Arthurian poem *Joseph d'Arimathie* written by Robert de Boron, a French poet of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Robert writes that, when God cast out the angels, "for three days and three nights they rained down, so that never fell a heavier rain, nor one which harmed us more." Robert postulates that the result of this "rain" was three classes of fallen angels residing in three different locations: one class landed in hell, where they torture lost souls; another class landed on earth, where they torment and tempt humanity; and another class remain in the sky, where they are able to assume different appear-

Wilson, and J. J. Smith (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009), Bk. 22, chap. 1, 732. See also Bk. 3, chap. 5, p. 70; Bk. 10, chap. 24–25, p. 295; Bk. 11, chap. 13 and 15, pp. 321–23; Bk. 12, 9, p. 350; Bk. 14, chap. 11 and 13, pp. 413, 416; Bk. 15, chap. 23, p. 462; Bk. 16, chap. 17, p. 489; Bk. 21, chap. 25, p. 720; and Bk. 22, chap. 1, pp. 731–32. Augustine takes up the replacement theory again in his *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, translated by Thomas S. Hibbs (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 2002), Bk. 29, p. 36.

⁸Dorothy Haines, "Vacancies in Heaven: The Doctrine of Replacement and *Genesis A*," *Notes and Queries* 44, no. 2 (June 1997): 150–53. See also David F. Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 97, no. 4 (October 1998): 500–521; Thomas D. Hill, "The Fall of Satan in the Old English, *Christ and Satan*," *The Journal of English and German Philology* 76, no. 3 (July 1977): 315–25; and Michael Fox, "Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002): 175–200. My thanks to Dr. Miranda Wilcox for suggesting Old English source materials and my wife, Dr. Zina Petersen, for advice on medieval sources.

⁹Richard Beadle and Pamela King, eds., *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1984), 1–7.



Pieter Bruegel I. *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, 1562. With lance and armor, St. Michael and his bright angels force away the fantastic and nightmarish figures of Satan's hosts.

ances and get humans to turn from virtue.¹⁰ In his Arthurian epic *Parzival*, Wolfram von Eschenbach writes of fence-sitting angels, “those who did not stand on either side when Lucifer and *Trinitas* began to do battle,” who were cast down to earth where they were imprisoned in the holy grail (which Wolfram imagines to be a stone with mystical powers).¹¹

The most prominent account of the war in heaven was written not as scripture, but as an epic poem in 1667 by John Milton. In *Para-*

¹⁰The quotation is from the English prose translation of *Joseph of Arimathea: A Romance of the Grail*, translated by Jean Rogers (London: Rudolf Steiner, 1990), 35–36. The original medieval French version written in octosyllabic couplets can be found in Robert de Boron, *Joseph d'Arimathie: A Critical Edition of the Verse and Prose Versions*, edited by Richard O'Gorman (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), 216–21.

¹¹Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, edited and translated by André LeFevre, THE GERMAN LIBRARY (New York: Continuum, 2003), 125.

dise Lost, Milton fused the Christian version of the narrative with scenes of classical epic warfare. In Milton's version, Satan is never commanded to worship Adam (as in the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*); still, the sins for which he is expelled from heaven are pride and jealousy.¹² It is impossible to overstate the influence of Milton's *Paradise Lost* on subsequent generations. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Milton's *Paradise Lost* came to be, as Perry Miller has described it, "not so much a secondary Book of Genesis as a substitute for the original."¹³ His text was more widely read than the biblical original for almost two centuries, its influence only beginning to wane in America at the time of Joseph Smith's birth.¹⁴

When John Dryden asked Milton if he could turn his blank-verse epic into a sacred opera, Milton replied, "Certainly, you may tag my

LeFevre, *THE GERMAN LIBRARY* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 125.

¹²The reception of Milton's poem was mixed. In his *History of Sin and Heresie Attempted* (1698), Charles Leslie found Milton's account of the war in heaven wrongheaded for having "dress'd Angels in Armour, and put Swords and Guns into their Hands, to form romantick Battles in the Plains of Heaven." He felt that "if Mr. Milton had made the cause of [angelic] discontent to have been the incarnation of Christ . . . his contexture [sic] had been nearer to the truth." *The Theological Works of The Rev. Charles Leslie* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1832), 7:439–40, in Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=pSRMAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA437&dq=History+of+Sin+and+Heresie+charles+leslie&hl=en&ei=T7HBtazPEqXSIAK77MCVaw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed June 3, 2010). See also William Poole's "The Early Reception of *Paradise Lost*," *Literature Compass* 1 (2004): 1–13.

¹³Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper, 1956), 220. Miller further notes that "the effect of Milton upon American 'primitive' painting of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is especially striking" (220).

¹⁴George F. Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 282–305. Many have noted the similarities between Milton and Mormon thought. Both append to the Genesis narrative a war in heaven; both posit a fortunate fall, and both read a Christian Adam. Whether Joseph Smith read Milton is not certain, but he does allude, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to Milton's stated purpose in writing *Paradise Lost* to "justify the ways of God to men" (I, 26) in an article in the *Times and Seasons* on baptism for the dead. Smith states that an understanding of this ritual "reconciles the scriptures of truth, justifies the ways

verses, if you will." The result, in heroic couplets, was *The State of Innocence and Fall of Men*. It was published in 1674, the year Milton died, but no music was ever composed for the libretto and the play was never performed. Perhaps it was never intended to be performed since the elaborate stage directions called for a "Lake of Brimstone or rolling Fire; the Earth of a burnt Colour," and "the rebellious Angels, wheeling in Air, and seeming transfixed with Thunderbolts: The bottom of the Stage being opened, receiv[ing] the Angels, who fall out of sight."¹⁵ Nevertheless, it became, during Dryden's lifetime, one of his most widely read dramas.

Some sixty years after Milton, American minister Jonathan Edwards repeated the Miltonian myth in a series of 1733 sermons: "Satan and his angels rebelled against God in heaven, and proudly presumed to try their strength with his. And when God, by his almighty power, overcame the strength of Satan, and sent him like lightning from heaven to hell with all his army; [sic] Satan still hoped to get the victory by subtilty." Edwards concluded: "God, therefore, has shown his great wisdom in overthrowing Satan's design."¹⁶ Then, some sixty years later, Thomas Paine attacked the logic of this narrative in his 1794, *The Age of Reason*, a vigorous defense of Deism. Paine ridiculed

of God to man; places the human family upon an equal footing, and harmonizes with every principle of righteousness, justice and truth." Joseph Smith, "Baptism for the Dead," *Times and Seasons* April 15, 1842, 761; also available at BYU's Mormon Publications: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Collection, <http://relarchive.byu.edu/MPNC/>. John Tanner has noted, however, that the differences that separate Milton from Mormon thought are enormous. While Milton, influenced by Hesiod, Homer, and Vergil, depicts his war in heaven as a heated epic battle, Mormons usually see a war of words and ideas; and while Milton's Satan is driven by envy alone, the Mormon Satan is driven by a desire to destroy free agency in order to claim all the credit of humanity's salvation. John S. Tanner, "Making a Mormon of Milton," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 191–206.

¹⁵*The Works of John Dryden: Plays Ambboyna, The State of Innocence, Aureng-Zebe*, edited by Vinton A. Dearling, Vol. 12 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 97.

¹⁶Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards*, 10 vols. (New York: Carvill, 1830), 7:87, Google Books http://books.google.com/books?id=NYErAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA66&dq=edwards+Wisdom+Displayed+in+Salvation&hl=en&ei=QbTBtWmNIXhiAKbnZyxAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false

the “Christian Mythologists” who believe “in an insurrection and a battle in Heaven, in which none of the combatants could be either killed or wounded.”¹⁷

In the visual arts, depictions of the war in heaven appear in frescos, sculpture, stained glass, etchings, and paintings from at least the middle ages on. In 1498, Albrecht Dürer produced the woodcut *St. Michael Fighting the Dragon*, a theme repeated by painters like Guido Reni (1636), Sebastiano Ricci (1720), and Johann Georg Unruhe (1793). A statue representing St. Michael fighting the dragon adorns the spire of the eleventh-century Romanesque chapel on Mont St. Michel in Normandy, France. The fall of the rebel angels is depicted in the fifteenth-century illuminated *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, as well as in paintings by Hieronymus Bosch (1500), Pieter Bruegel I (1562), and Peter Paul Rubens (1620). Testifying of Milton’s enduring importance, three illustrated editions of *Paradise Lost* appeared in the nineteenth century, one by William Blake (1807), one by John Martin (1833), and one by Gustave Doré (1866); all contain depictions of the fall of Satan and his legions.

LITERAL LEVEL

Uniquely Mormon versions of the story emerged soon after the Church’s founding in 1830. Retained in the Mormon narrative is the idea of a premortal conflict, Satan’s fall, and the associated banishment of one-third of the hosts of heaven. However, several new concepts also emerge in the Mormon story. In Joseph Smith’s inspired translation of the opening chapters of Genesis (dictated in 1830 and later canonized as the Book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price), the war in heaven was caused by a conflict about agency. Satan proposed “to redeem all mankind, that one soul shall not be lost.” However, the price of such salvation would be “destroy[ing] the agency of man, which . . . the Lord God, had given him” (Moses 4:1–3). The scripture

(accessed June 6, 2010).

¹⁷Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason: Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology*, 1794 (Boston: Josiah P. Mendum, 1852), 14, in Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=2PgRAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+Age+of+Reason:+Being+an+Investigation+of+True+and+Fabulous+Theology&hl=en&ei=lrTBTbKgGYnhiAL0xKytAw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed June 6, 2010).

transforms the war from a military battle into a conflict of ideas about salvation: Satan attempting to save all but prohibiting agency, God allowing failure and defending agency. That same year, Smith produced the revelation that is now Doctrine and Covenants 29, in which Satan rebels, stating, "Give me thine honor, which is my power; and also a third part of the hosts of heaven turned he away from me because of their agency" (v. 36).

In 1832, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon's grand vision recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 76 included a glimpse of the war in heaven. New to this revelation is the idea that the war continues to be waged on this earth, though with different stakes, and that "those who know [God's] power, and have been made partakers thereof, and suffered themselves through the power of the devil to be overcome, and to deny the truth and defy my power" become sons of perdition "doomed to suffer the wrath of God" for eternity (D&C 76:25–38). Finally, in 1835, Joseph Smith produced a translation of some Egyptian papyri "purporting to be the writings of Abraham, while he was in Egypt." This text tells of a council in heaven where the pre-mortal souls or "intelligences"—including many who were "noble and great"—assembled to hear of the earth's creation. There Satan competed with Jesus to be the redeemer of humankind. When his prideful offer was rejected, he "kept not his first estate; and, at that day, many followed after him" (Abr. 3:28).¹⁸

Joseph Smith elaborated on the topic in his King Follett sermon, April 7, 1844: "The contention in heaven was—Jesus said there would be certain souls that would not be saved; and the Devil said he could save them all, and laid his plans before the grand council, who gave their vote in favor of Jesus Christ. So the Devil rose up in rebellion against God, and was cast down, with all who put up their heads [sic] for him."¹⁹

The account of the speech recorded in the *History of the Church* was a collation of four accounts by Willard Richards, Wilford Wood-

¹⁸Brent L. Top, "War in Heaven," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1546–47. For a synopsis of early accounts of the war in heaven from an LDS perspective, see Stephen Ricks and Daniel Peterson, "The War in Heaven: A Comparison of Interpretations," *Tangents III* (Spring 1975): 99–105.

¹⁹Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932;

ruff, Thomas Bullock, and William Clayton. However, a retrospective summary of the sermon recorded by George Laub makes it clear that Smith's discourse, like Doctrine and Covenants 76, placed the war in heaven in the context of the unpardonable sin. In Laub's account, Jesus proposed that "he could save all those who did not sin against the Holy Ghost & they would obey the laws that was given," while Satan countered that he "can save all Even those who Sined [sic] against the Holy Ghost." Laub's version adds that "he accused his brethren and was h[u]rled from the council for striving to break the law emediately and there was a warfare with Saten."²⁰

Despite the intriguing hint in Joseph Smith's link between the war in heaven and the sons of perdition in Doctrine and Covenants 76 and the King Follett sermon, the nature of the premortal conflict has primarily been seen in Mormon theology as a clash over limiting agency, an ongoing battle between good and evil in which mortals are engaged.²¹ The Mormon narrative also reverses the outcome of the war in heaven from the traditional Christian

rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980), 5:327–37. See also Joseph Smith, April 6, 1844, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 6:8–9; Joseph Fielding Smith, comp. and ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1938; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976 printing), 357; Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Salt Lake: Bookcraft, 1980), with the versions recorded by individual diarists: Willard Richards, 342; Wilford Woodruff, 347; Thomas Bullock, 353; and William Clayton, 361.

²⁰Eugene England, ed., "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1978): 22–23.

²¹Two intriguing alternate theories should be mentioned. Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ronan J. Head, "Mormonism's Satan and the Tree of Life," *Element* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 1–50, propose that the conflict of the war in heaven was that Satan offered a form of universal redemption without the possibility of exaltation or deification. The second is in an unpublished talk by Terryl L. Givens, "'Moral, Responsible, and Free': Mormon Conceptions of Divine Justice," Phoenix, Arizona, May 7, 2010. Givens proposes that, since agency is an eternal aspect of human intelligences, Satan could not limit agency. Rather, his strategy was to limit the consequences of using that agency. The conflict continues, as Givens notes, in "the tendency of a decadent culture . . . always to obscure or deny the connection between choice and consequence." Avail-

model. As Terryl L. Givens has noted: “The righteous partisans of Christ earn the reward of mortal embodiment and progression; those in league with Satan become the fallen angels doomed to nonphysicality.”²² Unlike Origen, Mormon thought sees the physical world as a reward for those who opposed Satan, rather than an unfortunate cosmic fall.

Mormons thus do not regard the war in heaven as a symbolic fable but have, from the beginning, read it as a reality of cosmic history. Early references to the war in heaven were often quite speculative and focused on things that now seem quaint or inconsequentially tangential, such as the demographics and prosopography of heaven and hell. For example, Orson Pratt proposed that there were prior rebellions in heaven since “God has always been at work,” and he attempted to calculate exactly how many spirits were cast out with Satan. “Their numbers, probably, cannot be less than . . . one hundred thousand millions of rebellious spirits or devils who were cast out from Heaven and banished to this creation.”²³ Wilford Woodruff, engaging in his own mathematical inquiry, concluded that “one hundred million devils” were cast out of heaven, with “a hundred [assigned] to every man, woman and child that breathes the breath of life.”²⁴ Brigham Young suggested that the premortal division took place only among spirit beings, not resurrected beings, and speculated that a “portion of grace allotted to those rebellious characters” prevented them from being returned to their “native element.”²⁵ Jedediah M. Grant, one of Brigham’s counselors, posited that, when Satan was cast out, he was given a “mission” to tempt mortal souls.²⁶ John Taylor hypothesized that Satan “probably intended to make men atone for their own acts” through “the shedding

able on Givens’s website, http://terrylgivens.com/wp-content/upload/2010/05/Moral_Responsible_Free.pdf (accessed May 4, 2011).

²²Terryl Givens, *When Souls Had Wings: Premortal Existence in Mormon Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 216.

²³Orson Pratt, July 18, 1880, *Journal of Discourses*, 21:287–88; December 19, 1869, 13:63.

²⁴Wilford Woodruff, June 6, 1880, *Journal of Discourses*, 21:125–26, and September 12, 1875, 18:115.

²⁵Brigham Young, April 8, 1871, *Journal of Discourses*, 14:93–94; and March 16, 1856, 3:256.

²⁶J. M. Grant, February 19, 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:11–12.

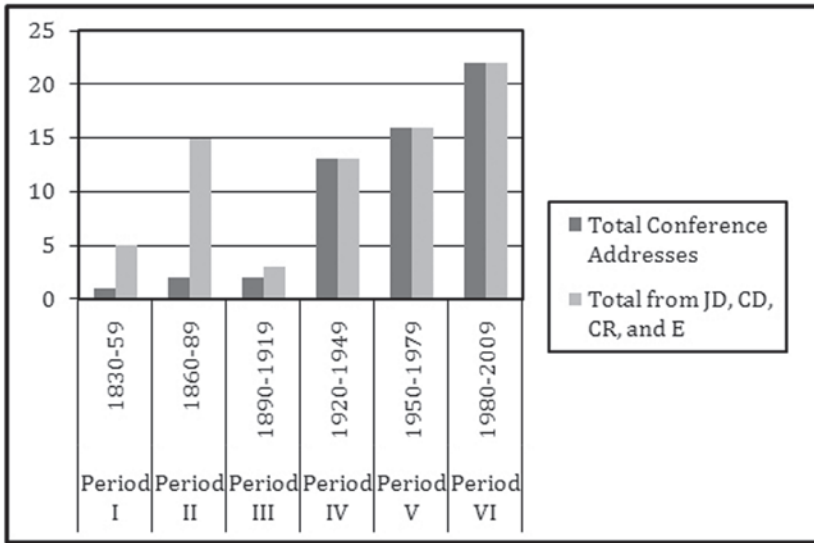


Figure 1. Occurrence of references to the war in heaven in four bodies of authoritative Mormon discourse. Note: JD = Journal of Discourses, CD = Collected Discourses, CR = Conference Report, and E = Ensign.

of their own blood as an atonement for their sins.”²⁷ The war in heaven inspired a great deal of imaginative thought in early Mormon discourse. And the frequency of its use in Mormon thought has increased over time in light of increasing concerns about social mores, warfare, communism, and progressive politics.

In their analysis of rhetorical themes in LDS general conference sermons from 1830 to 1979, Gordon and Gary Shepherd outlined developments in the theology and changes in emphasis. I have tried to conduct a similar analysis of how the war in heaven theme has been used in general conference sermons, but such attempts suffer from significant limitations. For example, as the Shepherds note, conference records are incomplete during the nineteenth century, especially during the Church’s first decade. While the Shepherds were able to use summaries of talks and other substitutions in their research, there is always a strong chance that a summary might skip a

²⁷John Taylor, *The Mediation and Atonement* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1882), 96–97. My thanks to Blair Hodges for calling this quotation to my attention.

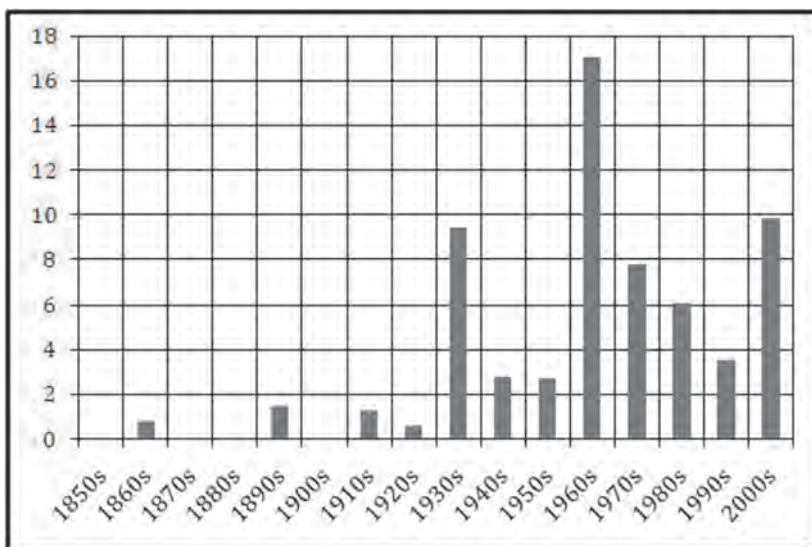


Figure 2. Frequency of “War in Heaven” from 1851 to 2010 in the BYU corpus of general conference talks.

brief reference to the war in heaven and that the substitute discourses they used contained no references to the war in heaven. So my analysis is limited in significant ways.²⁸ To compensate, I have recorded two sets of numbers: the number of instances in which General Authorities have spoken directly or indirectly of a war in heaven, as recorded in the *Journal of Discourses* (1855–86), *Collected Discourses* (1886–89), *Conference Reports*, and the *Ensign* (1971–present). Since some of the early talks recorded in the *Journal of Discourses* and *Collected Discourses* were not given in general conferences, I further recorded the number of those references that were given at LDS conference. Even if, due to the sketchy data, we consider the numbers found in Periods 1 and 2 with extreme caution, a strong trend toward increased references is readily apparent in general conference addresses. These results can be compared with a search of the term “war in heaven” on the recently released *Corpus of LDS General Conference Talks*, a database of discourses from 1851 to 2010 produced by Brig-

²⁸Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1984).

ham Young University linguistics professor, Mark Davies. Searching for the specific term “war in heaven” in the *Corpus* reveals a significant increase during the 1930s, 1960s, and the 2000s, decades that have seen challenges to conventional notions of individual moral choice as well as society’s political and economic ideals, as we will see below.²⁹ (See Figures 1 and 2 as well as the Appendix: “A Chronology of Selected References to the War in Heaven in Mormon Thought.”)

From the Church’s beginnings, the narrative has been read as a very literal event in cosmic history. However, that literal event has been given a specific moral function in Mormon discourse.

TROPOLOGIC LEVEL

One of the primary functions of the war in heaven narrative has been tropologic—providing a moral message by which Church members can orient their lives. This is the most common use of the trope in contemporary LDS conference talks. Representative of this mode is a discourse by President James E. Faust in the priesthood session of the October 2001 conference. He warned that the war in heaven “rages today ever more fiercely” and urged his listeners: “As priesthood holders we are marshaled into the great army of righteousness to combat the forces of Lucifer. Each of us needs to train ourselves to be bold, disciplined, and loyal men of the priesthood who are prepared with the proper weapons to fight against evil and to win.”³⁰

Citing this premortal conflict as an ongoing battle in which all Latter-day Saints are engaged is the most common homiletic use of the narrative in discourses dating from the mid-twentieth century to the present. It is true that Brigham Young cited the war in heaven to

²⁹*Corpus of General Conference Talks*, Brigham Young University, <http://corpus.byu.edu/gc> (accessed April 3, 2011). See also Scott Taylor, “All 24 Million Words of LDS General Conference,” April 1, 2011, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/700123380/All-24-million-words-of-LDS-general-conference.html> (accessed May 5, 2011). That this BYU corpus does not show the same steady progression in usage as my research can be explained by the fact that, by searching only one term for the concept, “war in heaven,” I am excluding places where a General Authority might have spoken of the war in heaven but did not use that terminology.

³⁰James E. Faust, “The Enemy Within,” *Ensign*, November 2000, <http://lds.org/ensign/2000/11/the-enemy-within?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

caution Latter-day Saints that Satan's followers were sent to earth to "try the sons of men" and admonished the Saints to diligently "improv[e] upon the intelligence given to them, the opportunity for overcoming evil, and for learning the principles which govern eternity, that they may be exalted therein."³¹ However, it is more common in early LDS discourse to employ the narrative in the literal, analogical, or anagogical modes.

In 1928, Rulon S. Wells of the First Council of the Seventy warned that "Satan is abroad in the land endeavoring to lead the children of God away here as there, continuing his work of destroying the souls of men." He urged members "to reject the plan of the adversary, with all his sophistry, his false religion, his deception, his evil and all combined," explaining that "to resent and resist that, and to turn away from it, is to overcome sin."³² In 1935, Rudger Clawson, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, reminded Latter-day Saints of the war in heaven and warned that now "is a time for the testing of the souls of men."³³ Harold B. Lee, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, referred to the war in heaven in April 1972 in the context of lamenting the late-1960s/early 1970s culture of drugs and free love: "Today we are constantly hearing from the unenlightened and misguided, who demand what they call free agency, by which they apparently mean, as evidenced by their conduct, that they have their agency to do as they please or to exercise their own self-will to determine what is law and order, what is right and wrong, or what is honor and virtue." This, President Lee saw as "echoing the plan of Satan."³⁴ In 1989 Elder Russell M. Nelson cited the war in heaven as "the beginning of contention," warning that "Satan's method relies on the infectious canker of

³¹Brigham Young, March 16, 1856, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:256. John Taylor spoke in a somewhat similar vein, stating that, since the time of the war in heaven, "two grand powers" have opposed each other. "The conflict is between right and wrong, between truth and error, between God and the spirit of darkness, and the powers of evil that are opposed to Him." Taylor continued, God "has a right to demand obedience from his children," but "that right has been contested from the very first." July 29, 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 19:79.

³²Rulon S. Wells, *Conference Report*, April 1928, 70.

³³Rudger Clawson, *Conference Report*, April 1935, 66.

³⁴Harold B. Lee, "A Time of Decision," *Ensign*, July 1972, <http://lds.org/ensign/1972/07/a-time-of-decision?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

contention.”³⁵ Elder Dallin H. Oaks updated the war in heaven to his 1995 warnings about same-gender attraction: “Satan would like us to believe that we are not responsible in this life. That is the result he tried to achieve by his contest in the pre-existence. A person who insists that he is not responsible for the exercise of his free agency because he was ‘born that way’ is trying to ignore the outcome of the War in Heaven. We *are* responsible, and if we argue otherwise, our efforts become part of the propaganda effort of the Adversary.”³⁶

In October 2009, Boyd K. Packer, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, said that, as a result of the war in heaven, “we were given our agency,” adding, “We must use it wisely and remain close to the Spirit; otherwise, we foolishly find ourselves yielding to the enticements of the adversary.”³⁷ During that same conference, Elder Quentin L. Cook stated that “the War in Heaven was fought after Satan said that he would force everyone to obey his ideas. That was rejected.” Cook advised members that, “as a result, we have our moral agency and the freedom to choose our course in this life. But we also are accountable for that agency.”³⁸

Perhaps setting a record for the most references to the war in heaven in one conference, during the October 2010 conference, six speakers cited the war in heaven to emphasize moral principles—including all three members of the First Presidency. President Henry B. Eyring linked Lucifer’s fall to a lack of “sufficient trust in God to avoid eternal misery.”³⁹ Elder M. Russell Ballard said that the war in heaven continues today with Satan tempting us with addiction to “artifi-

³⁵Russell M. Nelson, “The Canker of Contention,” *Ensign*, May 1989, <http://lds.org/ensign/1989/05/the-canker-of-contention?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

³⁶Dallin H. Oaks, “Same-Gender Attraction,” *Ensign*, October 1995, <http://lds.org/ensign/1995/10/same-gender-attraction?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

³⁷Boyd K. Packer, “Prayer and Promptings,” *Ensign*, November 2009, <http://lds.org/ensign/2009/11/prayer-and-promptings?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

³⁸Quentin L. Cook, “Stewardship—a Sacred Trust,” *Ensign*, November 2009, 91–94.

³⁹Henry B. Eyring, “Trust in God, Then Go and Do,” *Ensign*, November 2010, 70–73.

cial substances and behaviors of temporary pleasure.”⁴⁰ Elder Robert D. Hales described those who followed Satan in the premortal life as lacking “faith to follow the Savior.” He cautioned members that Satan and his followers’ “only joy is to make us ‘miserable like unto [themselves].’”⁴¹ President Dieter F. Uchtdorf told the priesthood session that “pride was the original sin” that “felled Lucifer, a son of the morning,” warning that if pride could corrupt “one as capable and promising as this, should we not examine our own souls as well?”⁴² And Church President Thomas S. Monson talked of Satan’s plan in the premortal sphere to take away agency: “He insisted that with his plan none would be lost, but he seemed not to recognize—or perhaps not to care—that in addition, none would be any wiser, any stronger, any more compassionate, or any more grateful if his plan were followed.”⁴³ Thus, in a single conference, General Authorities taught lessons on trust, faith, pride, addiction, and spiritual growth by referring to the war in heaven. President Boyd K. Packer pursued the theme in the October 2011 general conference, warning youth that they “are being raised in enemy territory. We know from the scriptures that there was a war in heaven and that Lucifer rebelled and, with his followers, was cast out into the earth.” His “spiritual” influence, Packer continued, meaning that Lucifer worked “to control the minds and actions of all,” would ultimately fail. He extended an apostolic promise “that you will be protected and steeled against the attacks of the adversary if you heed the promptings that come from the Holy Ghost.”⁴⁴

Despite the importance of the war in heaven in Mormon theology, it does not seem to occupy a central place in Mormon fiction, drama, or poetry. I am aware of only a few examples, and most of them function primarily at the tropologic level, depicting a moral

⁴⁰M. Russell Ballard, “O That Cunning Plan of the Evil One,” *Ensign*, November 2010, 108–10.

⁴¹Robert D. Hales “Agency: Essential to the Plan of Life” *Ensign*, November 2010, 24–27.

⁴²Dieter F. Uchtdorf, “Pride and the Priesthood,” *Ensign*, November 2010, 55–58.

⁴³Thomas S. Monson “The Three Rs of Choice” *Ensign*, November 2010, 67–70.

⁴⁴Boyd K. Packer, “Counsel to Youth,” *Ensign*, November 2011, 16, 18.



Raphael, St. Michael and the Devil, ca. 1503. St. Michael, beautiful and remote, pins down a writhing, screaming devil, while monsters creep around the battlefield before the Heavenly City.

message for the audience to emulate in the here and now. Nephi Anderson's *Added Upon*, a popular didactic novel first published in 1898 (and in continuous print until 2005), depicts the war in heaven through a conversation between pre-mortal spirits Homan and Delsa:

“What do you think of Lucifer and his plan?” asked she. “The talented Son of the Morning is in danger of being cast out if he persists in his course. As to his plan, it is this: ‘If I cannot rule, I will ruin.’”

“And if he rule, it will still be ruin, it seems to me.”⁴⁵

The novel then relates how “many of the mighty and noble children of God arrayed themselves on the side of Christ, their Elder Brother, and waged war against Lucifer’s pernicious doctrine.”⁴⁶

Likewise, Orson F. Whitney’s 1904 *Elias: An Epic of the Ages*, one of two epic poems that depict the war in heaven (I discuss the other, by Edward Tullidge, below) depicts the competing arguments put forward by Jesus and Satan, then cuts quickly to the outcome:

’T was done. From congregation vast
Tumultuous murmurs rose;
Waves of conflicting sound, as when
Two meeting seas oppose.
’T was finished. But the heavens wept;
And still their annals tell
How one was choice of Elohim,
O’er one who fighting fell.⁴⁷

The popular 1977 production *My Turn on Earth*, written by Carol Lynn Pearson with music by Lex de Azevedo, has two musical numbers that depict the war in heaven. “I have a plan,” sings Satan. “It will save every man. / I will force them to live righteously. / They won’t have to choose. / Not one we’ll lose. / And give all the glory to me.” Jesus responds, “I have a plan. / It is better for man. / Each will have to decide what to be. / And choosing, I know, you’ll learn and you’ll grow, / And, Father, the glory to thee.” In another song, “Shout for Joy,” the premortal souls celebrate: “Satan’s plan we did destroy! / We’ll shout, we’ll shout for joy!”⁴⁸

All of these references have a common purpose: The war in heaven is cited to inspire individual moral behavior, to remind Lat-

⁴⁵Nephi Anderson, *Added Upon: A Story* (Salt Lake: Deseret News Press, 1898), 16–17.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁷Orson F. Whitney, *Elias: An Epic of the Ages* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1904), 34.

⁴⁸Carol Lynn Pearson, *My Turn on Earth*, Excell Entertainment B000FZEQNM, 2006, compact disc, in my possession. Taking a strikingly different approach is the soon-to-be-published novel by *Sunstone*’s “Borderlands” columnist, D. Jeff Burton, working title “Five Projourneties” (Bounti-

ter-day Saints that they are engaged in spiritual warfare, and to reflect on their actions as part of a larger, cosmic drama. The war in heaven provides a moral lesson on the importance of using agency wisely. But it has also served a broader allegorical purpose, defending against threats to Church dominion, explaining inequality, and supporting particular economic and political agendas.

ALLEGORICAL LEVEL

The first use of the war in heaven to serve an allegorical function dates from the succession crisis of 1844. Wilford Woodruff used the narrative to urge members to follow Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve rather than Sidney Rigdon, the sole surviving member of the First Presidency. In an impassioned letter published in the *LDS Times and Seasons* on November 1, 1844, Woodruff compared Rigdon to Lucifer “who made war in heaven.” By threatening to “turn traitor, publish against the church in public journals, intimating that he would bring a mob upon the church, stir up the world against the saints and bring distress upon them,” Rigdon had, according to Woodruff, proven his treachery and could not be trusted.⁴⁹ In a similar vein, Apostle Orson Hyde compared Rigdon’s claim to authority to Satan’s attempt to seize power during the war in heaven. Hyde stated that “none can bear rule” in God’s appointed station, “except such as are appointed and ordained of God. Lucifer once undertook it, but he with all his adherents, was cast out and thrust down to hell, because of an unlawful ambition in aspiring after a station that Heav-

ful, Utah: IVE Press). Satirical, though not mocking, the novel explores Mormon folk beliefs about premortal life, the unseen spirits tempting humanity, and the postmortal spirit world. In a chapter titled “The Unpleasantness,” Candle, an inquisitive premortal spirit, highlights some of the theological implications of the war in heaven, asking “Why would the Council put the most important decision in Creation up for a vote? What would have happened if two-thirds of the Host of Heaven had voted for Lucifer’s Plan?” She further comments, “It looks like one single event, one single decision has cost one-third of all our brothers and sisters their eternal lives. Millions of years of progression and a potential eternity of heavenly bliss—poof, gone in one single incidence of poor judgment. Does that make sense to you?” (12).

⁴⁹Wilford Woodruff, “To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 20 (November 1, 1844): 698–99.

en was not pleased to give.”⁵⁰

In another defense of the Church against a perceived threat, the *Deseret News* published an anonymously written editorial in 1852 that warned against “false spirits” who were apparently making themselves manifest within the Spiritualist movement. The editorial cautioned that Lucifer’s proposed plan in the premortal council appeared “more liberal, noble, benevolent and kind-hearted” than that proposed by Jesus, and that he drew away one-third of heaven with his “sophistry and false philanthropy.” It suggested that spiritualism had real power but that mediums were contacting the wrong kind of spirits.⁵¹ Reference to the war in heaven allowed Church leaders to lay out a kind of middle path to successfully navigate any potentially authoritative claims of spiritualists, without rejecting outright the possibility of spiritual continuity and communication after death.

One of the principal uses of the war in heaven trope has been to explain the origins of earthly inequality, especially as it related to the restriction on ordaining black males to the priesthood prior to 1978.⁵² While the curse of Cain or Ham proved a common justification for prejudice and slavery in nineteenth-century America, just as it did in Mormonism, in 1845 Orson Hyde introduced a new theory

⁵⁰Orson Hyde, *Delivered before the High Priests’ Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th 1845, upon the Course and Conduct of Mr. Sidney Rigdon, and upon the Merits of His Claim to the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Nauvoo: Times and Seasons Press, 1845), 4, <http://sidneyrigdon.com/Hyd1845A.htm#pg27a> (accessed November 13, 2010).

⁵¹“To the Saints,” *Deseret News*, February 21, 1852. The editor of the paper at this time was Brigham Young’s second counselor in the First Presidency, Willard Richards. The editorial was later published as “False and Delusive Spirits” in the *Millennial Star* 14 no. 18 (June 26, 1852): 277–80. See Davis Bitton, “Mormonism’s Encounter with Spiritualism,” in his *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 83–97. As Bitton has argued and as this editorial implies, spiritualism posed a difficult dilemma for Mormonism. To accept spiritualism’s claims would be to accept every spiritual manifestation and lose control of the leadership’s authority; but to denounce communication with the spirit world would be to deny the very foundation of the Mormon message. The approach then, was to acknowledge spiritual communication but to maintain that deciphering the intentions of the spirits thus encountered would require spiritual discernment available to Mormon priesthood holders.

⁵²Lester E. Bush and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black:*

that had strong explanatory power for more than a century. He posited that, during the war in heaven, some spirits “did not take a very active part on either side, but rather thought the devil had been abused, and considered he had rather the best claim to government.” Thus, according to Hyde, these spirits were born into the “African race,” the “accursed lineage of Canaan” as a sort of punishment. Brigham Young publicly repudiated Hyde’s hypothesis, likely for theological reasons, despite his own characterization of blacks as “uncouth, uncomely, disagreeable in their habits, wild and seemingly deprived of nearly all blessings of the intelligence that is bestowed upon mankind.” Nevertheless, Young assured members of the Church that “all spirits are pure that came from the presence of God. The posterity of Cain are black because he committed murder.”⁵³

Brigham Young’s repudiation of the idea of premortal neutrality did not stick after his death, however. In 1885, B. H. Roberts of the First Council of the Seventy suggested that blacks may not have “rebelled against God and yet were so indifferent in their support of the righteous cause of our Redeemer that they forfeited certain privileges and powers granted to those who were more valiant.”⁵⁴ In 1889, Wilford Woodruff hinted that there might have been souls “astride the fence” in the war in heaven.⁵⁵ A letter from the First Presidency to Milton H. Knudson, dated January 13, 1912, seemed to contradict this line of reasoning, however: “So far as we know, there is no revelation, ancient or modern, neither is there any authoritative statement by any of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1984), have abundantly outlined this history, so only a brief summary is necessary here. See also Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children: Changing Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

⁵³Brigham Young, quoted in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black*, 72–73; Hyde, *Delivered before the High Priests’ Quorum*, 30.

⁵⁴B. H. Roberts, “To the Youth of Israel,” *The Contributor* 6, no. 8 (May 1885): 296–97.

⁵⁵Wilford Woodruff, “Eternal Variety of God’s Creations,” July 14, 1889, in Brian H. Stuy, comp. and ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others, 1886–1889*, 5 vols. (Burbank, Calif.: BHS Publishing, 1987–92; Vol. 3 published in Sandy, Utah), 1:311.

Saints in support of that which many of our elders have advanced as doctrine, in effect that the negroes are those who were neutral in heaven at the time of the great conflict or war, which resulted in the casting out of Lucifer and those who were led by him, said to number about one-third of the hosts of heaven.”⁵⁶

The 1931 publication of Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith’s *The Way to Perfection* trod a middle ground, stressing that black people had not necessarily been neutral but rather that they “did not stand valiantly.”⁵⁷ In April 1939 general conference, Apostle George F. Richards repeated Smith’s concept of non-valor.⁵⁸ Echoing Smith’s position, the First Presidency wrote to sociology professor Lowry Nelson on July 17, 1947: “From the days of the Prophet Joseph even until now it has been the doctrine of the Church, never questioned by any of the Church Leaders, that the Negroes are not entitled to the full blessings of the Gospel.” Evidently Church leaders were unaware of the ordinations of Elijah Abel (reportedly by Joseph Smith) in 1836, Walker Lewis in 1844, William McCary in 1846, and Abel’s son Enoch in 1900 and grandson Elijah in 1935.⁵⁹ The letter goes on: “Some of God’s children were assigned to superior positions before the world was formed” based on the “preexistence of our spirits, the rebellion in heaven, and the doctrines that our birth into this life and the advantages under which we may be born have a relationship in the life heretofore.”⁶⁰ Two years later in 1949, the same First Presidency announced it as a principal reason for priesthood denial to black men.⁶¹

The idea that blacks were less valiant in the war in heaven ap-

⁵⁶Gary James Bergera, comp., *Statements of the LDS First Presidency: A Topical Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 369. The First Presidency then consisted of Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose.

⁵⁷Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1931), 43–45.

⁵⁸George F. Richards, “Punishment of Those Not Valiant,” *Conference Report*, April 1939, 58–59.

⁵⁹Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black*, 131, 133, 147 note 75; “Black History Timeline, Blacklds.org, <http://www.blacklds.org/history> (accessed May 6, 2011).

⁶⁰Lowry Nelson, *In the Direction of His Dreams: Memoirs* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985), 339. The First Presidency then consisted of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and David O. McKay.

pears in the 1956 young adult novel *Choose Ye This Day* written by Emma Marr Petersen, the wife of Elder Mark E. Petersen.⁶² In the novel, when Milo Patterson, a black athlete from Los Angeles, joins the college football team, several southern athletes stage a boycott. Two students, Kent and Steve, debate the school's position that the team be integrated. Steve is willing to play with Milo, but Kent doesn't like the idea. "Even the Church holds out against the Negroes," Kent states (45). Steve suggests they talk with Hank Weston, a "crippled" hamburger stand owner "known for his honesty and practical good sense" (7), for his position. Hank opines that his "attitude on this subject is pretty well guided by my religious views . . . so I hope you won't mind if I mix a little religion with what I say" (47). Hank then teaches the students that blacks are cursed in mortality because they were not as valiant in war in heaven. He confesses, though, that he has "heard some of our [Church] leaders teach that even the Negro can go to the celestial kingdom if he is faithful. However, he can be only a servant there." He justifies this idea by adding: "That is more than many white people will receive, for many of them will be placed in the lower degrees of glory in the next world, because they did not live righteously. So in some respects, Negroes, if they are faithful, may receive a higher glory in the world to come than those of other races who defile their birthright" (49). Hank concludes: "Each race may develop within itself. So far as the Negroes are concerned, we will give them every right and privilege within their race that we claim for ourselves within our own race, but we will not become intimate with them in any way, and we will not intermarry with them. . . . I believe that is a fair position to take, and I believe it squares with the word of God" (49–50). Hank's position is finally summed up by one of the students: "So you would be in favor of allowing a Negro to play on our football team, as long as we did not take him so far into our social life that some white girl might become infatuated with him" (50). "That is just what I believe," responds Hank (51).

After the 1978 revelation extending the priesthood to all worthy male members of the LDS Church, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, who

⁶¹The full text of the letter, dated August 17, 1949, appears in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black*, 221. The First Presidency still consisted of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and David O. McKay.

⁶²Emma Marr Petersen, *Choose Ye This Day* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956).

himself had perpetuated the idea of premortal “neutrality” in his highly influential *Mormon Doctrine*, stated: “Forget everything that I have said, or what President Brigham Young or President George Q. Cannon or whoever has said in days past that is contrary to the present revelation. We spoke with a limited understanding without the light and knowledge that now has come into the world.”⁶³

The war in heaven narrative has also been employed to explain more generally the origins of inequality. In 1954, Apostle Mark E. Petersen speculated that the circumstances of our birth, whether we were born in “darkest Africa, or in flood-ridden China, or among the starving hordes of India, while some of the rest of us are born in the United States” is a “reflection of our worthiness or lack of it in the pre-existent life.”⁶⁴ Likewise, in 1961, Alvin R. Dyer, who was then serving as Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, asked: “Why is it that you are white and not colored? Have you ever asked yourself that question? Who had anything to do with your being born into the Church and not born a Chinese or a Hindu, or a Negro? . . . There were three divisions of mankind in the pre-existence, and when you are born into this life, you are born into one of these three divisions of people. There is an imposed judgment placed upon everyone who leaves the Spirit World just the same as there will be when they leave

⁶³Bruce R. McConkie, *Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), 165. The entry for “Negroes” in editions of *Mormon Doctrine* prior to 1979 stated: “In the preexistent eternity various degrees of valiance and devotion to the truth were exhibited by different groups of our Father’s spirit offspring. . . . Those who were less valiant in preexistence and who thereby had certain spiritual restrictions imposed upon them during mortality are known to us as the negroes.” This material was all deleted in post-1979 editions of the book. See also Marvin Perkins, “Blacks and the Priesthood,” FAIR, September 8, 2002, http://www.fairlds.org/Misc/Blacks_and_the_Priesthood.html (accessed May 4, 2010). Perkins astutely notes that, in the Book of Abraham, where the notion of different levels of valor is stated, “the discussion regarding varying degrees of valiancy or greatness . . . actually comes before the plan was laid out and presented, and before the rejection of the plan and rebellion by Satan, instead of after, as the tradition would have us believe.”

⁶⁴Mark E. Petersen, “Race Problems as They Affect the Church: A Speech Delivered at the Convention of Teachers of Religion on the College Level,” Brigham Young University, August 27, 1954, 9–10, <http://www.mormonismi.net/mep1954/00.html> (accessed November 13, 2010).

this life and go into one of three places.”⁶⁵

It is fascinating to note, however, that another strand of this argument takes the exact opposite position. While suggesting that blacks *were* denied the priesthood because of their “degree of faithfulness, by the degree of development in the pre-existent state,” B. H. Roberts denied that wealth and privilege were indications of premortal righteousness. “The favored sons of God are not those furthest removed from trial, from sorrow, from affliction. It is the fate, apparently, of those whom God most loves that they suffer most, that they might gain the experience for which men came into this world.”⁶⁶ Thus, whom God loves, He sends not riches but trials, suggested Roberts. Reflecting perhaps more concern for diversity as the LDS Church becomes a world religion, BYU religion professor Terry Ball posed exactly the same question in a 2008 BYU Devotional as Elder Dyer had in 1961 but drew the opposite conclusion: “Have you ever wondered why you were born where and when you were born?” Ball continued, “We believe that when it came time for us to experience mortality, a loving Heavenly Father who knows each of us well sent us to earth at the time and place and circumstances that would best help us reach our divine potential and help him maximize his harvest of redeemed souls.”⁶⁷

In short, for Mark E. Petersen and Alvin R. Dyer, inequality is an outward sign of premortal apathy—the worse your condition in this life, the more likely your indifference in the preexistence. Others have taken a much more charitable view of humanity. For B. H. Roberts, inequality may be a sign of premortal righteousness, while Terry Ball

⁶⁵Alvin R. Dyer, “For What Purpose,” March 18, 1962, at Oslo, Norway Missionary Conference, quoted in Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *The Negro in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1963), 48–58. Also available at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/13500724/For-What-Purpose> (accessed November 13, 2010).

⁶⁶B. H. Roberts, January 27, 1895, Stuy, *Collected Discourses*, 4:235–38. Roberts also stated, “If all . . . affliction was for the ‘good’ of one of the most favored of God’s sons, is it not a fair conclusion that the trials and adversities of the other sons of God are for their ‘good?’” *The Gospel and Man’s Relationship to Deity* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893), 345–50.

⁶⁷Terry Ball, “To Confirm and Inform: A Blessing of Higher Education,” BYU Devotional Address, March 11, 2008, 6, <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=1764> (accessed November 13, 2010).

sees it as a result of divine understanding.

Perhaps the most common allegorical function the war in heaven has served in Mormon thought is to justify and defend certain political and economic structures. Brigham Young saw it as a warning against the type of political factions that had created the Civil War. Citing the division that existed in the war in heaven, Young concluded, "Where such disunion exists in any government, it ultimately becomes the means of the utter overthrow of that government or people, unless a timely remedy is applied. Party spirit once made its appearance in heaven, but was promptly checked." Young continued, "If our Government had cast out the Seceders, the war would soon have been ended." Young's position was that the Mormons were witnessing the judgments of God against the United States for Americans' treatment of the Mormons. "The people in the States have violated the Constitution in closing their ears against the cries of the oppressed, and in consenting to shedding innocent blood, and now war, death and gloom are spread like a pall over the land."⁶⁸

Fifty years later B. H. Roberts took quite a different position and defended the U.S. entry into World War I by suggesting that the war in heaven proves that God does take sides in war, and surely He is on the side of the allies. To those who would say wars are "merely the machinations of men," Roberts stated, "I would ask what of the war in heaven when Michael [sic] and his angels revolted and became the devils of this world?" He continued, "I have absolute faith and confidence that so far as the United States is concerned, God is with us."⁶⁹ On another occasion, Roberts linked the patriots of the American Revolution with an ongoing fight for freedom that began when Satan was cast out of heaven. "We read that there was war in heaven," Roberts stated. "I think God was in that war, for Satan was overthrown and forced from heaven. I cannot help but think that when the patriot fathers who founded our nation drew the sword against the great empire of England, in the maintenance of their avowed rights, and for the establishment of free government in this world, God sustained their feeble arms and crowned them with glory."⁷⁰ Likewise, in 1917 Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley saw

⁶⁸Brigham Young, August 3, 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:333.

⁶⁹B. H. Roberts, quoted in "Says God Takes Part in Certain Great Conflicts," *Deseret News* August 27, 1917, 5.

World War I as a continuation of the struggle for freedom begun in the war in heaven and encompassing Henry VIII's break with the Pope, Cromwell's rupture with the Stuarts, George Washington's clash with George III, and Abraham Lincoln's opposition to the South:

The spirit of that contention did not cease to exist. It has existed and has come down to us through the ages; one side contending for individual liberty and the rights of man, and the other side contending for rule by force and by compulsion. That was essentially the issue in that great conflict before the world was. Christ stood for government by persuasion, by long suffering, by kindness and gentleness and love unfeigned. The other power was for government and salvation for all, to be secured by the spirit of force and compulsion, wherein all would be saved without agency, or what we call common consent.⁷¹

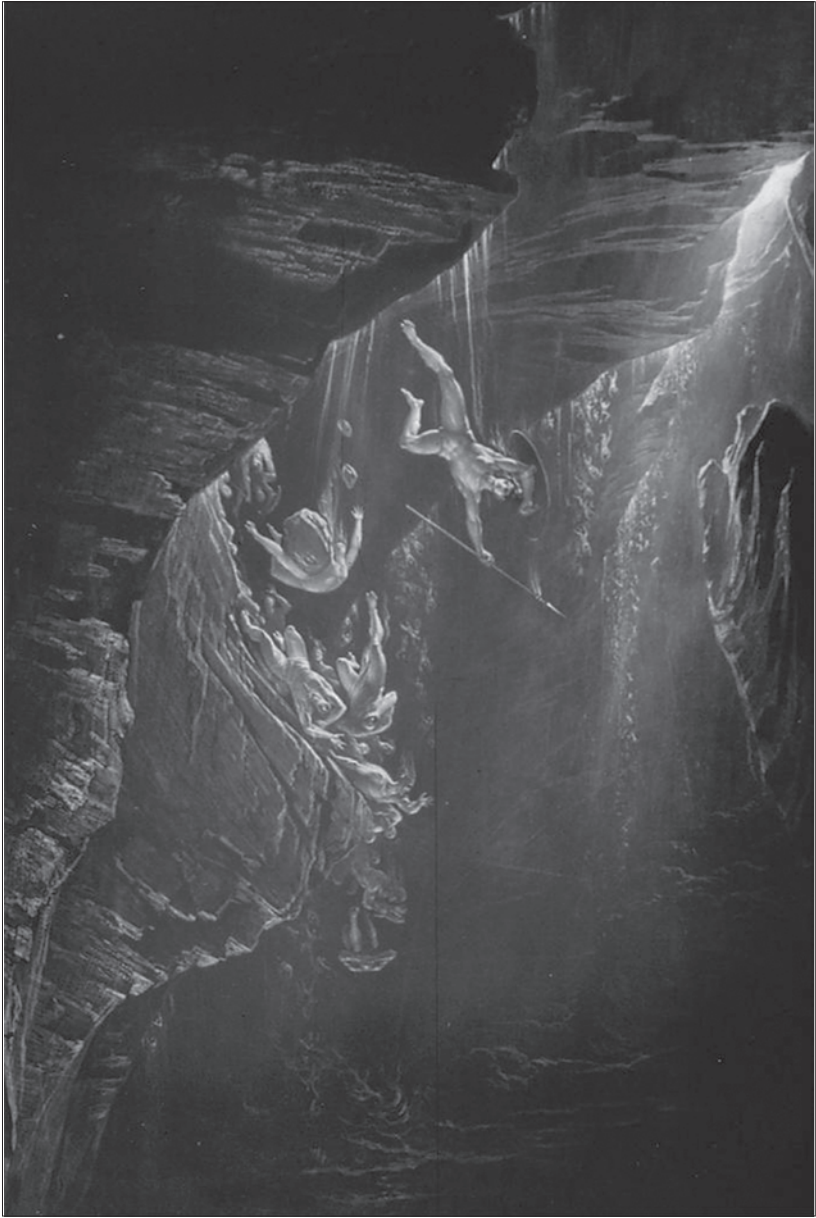
In a similar vein, Apostle Melvin J. Ballard denounced the German Kaiser Wilhelm II as leading the forces of evil in a continuation of the war in heaven. "The forces of evil were cast down to the earth, and here they have been and here the war wages and never have these combats ceased," said Ballard. "When shall the conflict end? There is no doubt in our minds what the result will be when that end shall come."⁷²

The trope took a new direction after Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected U.S. president in 1932. As historians have documented, LDS President Heber J. Grant became increasingly wary of FDR's New Deal policies. When Roosevelt sought an unprecedented third term in office, Grant authorized the publication of an anti-Roosevelt editorial in the *Deseret News* on October 31, 1940. Days later, the November *Improvement Era* featured an editorial, penned by Richard L. Evans, stating that "the ability to influence public opinion is not always accompanied by a like degree of integrity or honesty or honorable motive. A man may be a spellbinder and a scalawag at the same time." The editorial pointedly drew a comparison with "Lucifer, a brilliant personality" who "waged war in heaven and misled a third of the hosts thereof to their own downfall and to his," reminding readers to keep this duplicity in mind "before we set aside any hard-won

⁷⁰B. H. Roberts, *Conference Report*, October 1914, 109.

⁷¹Charles W. Nibley, *Conference Report*, April 1917, 144.

⁷²Melvin J. Ballard, *Conference Report*, October 1918, 149.



John Martin, Fall of the Rebel Angels, 1824–27, from a suite of mezzotints produced to illustrate Paradise Lost, 1833 edition. A blast of light streaming from the cliffs of heaven, accompanied by a torrent of boulders, blows the fallen angels out of the sacred precincts of God's presence.

and quickly-lost right of liberty or tradition of freedom.”⁷³

The United States’ entrance into World War II brought out the war in heaven narrative once again. On April 5, 1942, general conference was ripe with significance: The world was celebrating Easter and entering a war. American soldiers had been arriving in Great Britain since January. David O. McKay, second counselor in the First Presidency, addressed the audience gathered in the upper room of the Salt Lake Temple, stating, “On this Easter Day, the Risen Christ beholds in the world not peace, but war.” McKay continued:

War impels you to hate your enemies. The Prince of Peace says, Love your enemies. War says, Curse them that curse you. The Prince of Peace says, Pray for them that curse you. War says, Injure and kill them that hate you. The Risen Lord says, Do good to them that hate you. Thus we see that war is incompatible with Christ’s teachings. The gospel of Jesus Christ is the gospel of peace. War is its antithesis, and produces hate. It is vain to attempt to reconcile war with true Christianity.

McKay then used the war in heaven as an example of a war that is justifiable: “In that rebellion Lucifer said in substance: ‘By the law of force I will compel the human family to subscribe to the eternal plan, but give me thine honor and power.’” Defending the agency of another, McKay stated, “may justify a truly Christian man to enter—mind you, I say enter, not begin—a war.”⁷⁴

One of the most esoteric works on the war in heaven was Nels L. Nelson’s 1941 *The Second War in Heaven As Now Being Waged by Lucifer through Hitler as a Dummy*. Nelson had taught English, philosophy, public speaking, and religion at BYU between 1883 and 1920, except for a short hiatus between 1885 and 1887 while serving in the Southern States Mission, and had published many articles and three books: *Preaching and Public Speaking*, *The Mormon Point of View*, and *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*. When *The Second War in Heaven* was published, Nelson was seventy-nine, well-respected by Church leaders, and, as Davis Bitton states, “we can safely say that Nelson’s name was well-known in the Mormon community.”⁷⁵ The book combines a sort of New Age philosophy with political commentary to stress that the to-

⁷³“Editorial,” *Improvement Era*, November 1940, 672.

⁷⁴David O. McKay, *Conference Report*, April 1942.

⁷⁵Davis Bitton, “N. L. Nelson and the Mormon Point of View,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1973): 157.

talitarian regimes of Stalin, Mussolini, and, in particular, Hitler are “trying to destroy” what he calls the “I am principle in man” and that these dictators oppose the “psychic evolution” of “pre-existence, earth-life, and after-earth life.”⁷⁶

Church President Joseph F. Smith had a deep respect for Nelson and his writing, going so far as authorize the Church to lend Nelson \$800 to publish his book *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*. As Richard Sherlock has written, President Smith “sent [Nelson] manuscripts to review before deciding whether they should be published by the church. From the mass of letters between Nelson and church leaders, it is clear that he was on close terms with Smith and others.”⁷⁷ However, *The Second War in Heaven* struck a nerve with President J. Reuben Clark, first counselor to President Heber J. Grant. Clark took Nelson to task in a six-page personal letter critiquing Nelson’s manuscript, calling it “too philosophic to be good propaganda, and too ‘propagandish’ to be good philosophy.” Despite Nelson’s appeal to the war in heaven, Clark’s position as a laissez-fair conservative caused him to regard foreign entanglements with suspicion. For Clark, Hitler should not be singled out in the world’s history of evil. “It seems to me that the ‘second war in heaven’ began with Satan’s temptation of Eve, and swung into full march with Cain’s murder of Abel. From that date until the present . . . it has been the conflict between the two great forces, Good and Evil.” As he put it, “I think you have largely spoiled [the book] by over-emphasizing and over magnifying Hitler and his particular regime.” Clark was not siding with Hitler, stating “I am willing to convict him” but also adjudging that “the situation has created the man.” Recognizing the economic difficulties in

⁷⁶N[els]. L. Nelson, *The Second War in Heaven As Now Being Waged by Lucifer through Hitler as a Dummy* (Independence: Zion’s Printing, 1941), 5. Biographical information about Nels Lars Nelson is scarce, but a brief notice is found in T. Earl Pardoe, *The Sons of Brigham* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Alumni Association, 1969), 156–60. Concerning Nelson’s attempt to synthesize science and religion, see Richard Sherlock, “A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to Darwinist Legacy,” in *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism*, edited by Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 67–91. Bitton, “N. L. Nelson and *The Mormon Point of View*,” 1–12, discusses a short-lived periodical Nelson published.

⁷⁷Sherlock, “A Turbulent Spectrum,” 80.

Germany caused by reparations after World War I, Clark believed that Hitler “was to the Germans as a voice crying in the wilderness and offering to lead them out of the economic and political bondage in which the Treaty of Versailles left them.” And of the situation in Germany, Clark cautioned, “I should like you to excuse my warning you against your assuming as truth most of the criticism you see leveled against Hitler and his regime in Germany. . . . Hitler is undoubtedly bad from our American point of view, but I think that Germans like him.” Clark further warned Nelson about taking the side of Jews. “There is nothing in their history which indicates that the Jewish race loves either free-agency or liberty. ‘Law and order’ are not facts for the Jews.”⁷⁸

The narrative gained even greater traction as an allegory for the proper role of government in light of Communism. One of the earliest references came from Rulon S. Wells of the First Council of the Seventy in the April 1930 general conference. Wells stated that “the war begun in heaven is continued here on earth. To follow the enemies of God means to follow them into slavery, but to serve God means freedom.” Wells continued, “Think of poor afflicted Russia now under Soviet rule.” Russia had suffered under the czars and had “good reason to rise up against such conditions,” but had “no sooner liberated themselves” than the “Soviet seeks to plunge them into the still more deadly slavery of atheism.”⁷⁹

During the post-World War II developments of heightened diplomatic and military tensions known as the Cold War, the war in heaven became the primary metaphor for LDS thinking about the Soviet Union and concerns about the spread of Communism throughout the world. Apostle Ezra Taft Benson frequently spoke of the fight against Communism as a continuation of the war in heaven. “It is time, therefore, that every American, and especially every member of the priesthood, became informed about the aims, tactics, and schemes of socialistic-communism,” Elder Benson stated in the October 1961 general conference. “This becomes particularly important

⁷⁸J. Reuben Clark, Letter to N. L. Nelson, June 24, 1941, pp. 1–6, J. Reuben Clark Papers, MSS 303, Box 363, fd. 2, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. D. Michael Quinn cites this revealing letter in *Elder Statesman: A Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 291–92, 335.

⁷⁹Rulon S. Wells, *Conference Report*, April 1930, 70–72.

Anonymous artist,
*God Enthroned Surrounded
 by Angels Regards the Rebel
 Angels Cast Out of Heaven,*
 woodcut from *Seelen
 Wurzgarten*, published
 July 26, 1483.



when it is realized that communism is turning out to be the earthly image of the plan which Satan presented in the pre-existence. The whole program of socialistic-communism is essentially a war against God and the plan of salvation—the very plan which we fought to uphold during ‘the war in heaven.’”⁸⁰ But he also began to link his anti-Communism discourse with any form of “welfare government” that would “force us into a greater socialistic society.” When some Church members took umbrage at his increasingly far-right agenda, Benson responded in a 1966 BYU devotional address: “We cannot compromise good and evil in an attempt to have peace and unity in the Church any

⁸⁰Ezra Taft Benson, *Conference Report*, October 1961, 70. In that same talk, Benson urged members to read W. Cleon Skousen’s *Naked Communist* (Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishers, 1962). See also Ezra Taft Benson, *The Red Carpet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 111; *An Enemy Hath Done This* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 281–82; *God, Family, and Country* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 389.

more than the Lord could have compromised with Satan in order to avoid the War in Heaven.”⁸¹ Strikingly, Benson characterized differences of opinion within the Church as a continuation of the war in heaven, with his own right-leaning rhetoric defending the side of the angels.

The war in heaven continued to be employed against the spread of Communism, but also against liberalism in general. In his self-published 1964 book *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival*, Jerreld Newquist, an Air Force major during World War II and convert to Mormonism, claimed that any “collectivist philosophy” is related to the plan proposed by Lucifer prior to the war in heaven. Likewise, Hyrum Andrus’s 1965 *Liberalism, Conservatism, Mormonism* branded “liberalism, like the plan proposed by Lucifer and his hosts in the war in heaven,” as “deficient and perverse.”⁸² The war in heaven was also used to justify greater political moderation and support for pluralism. For example, one letter to the editor of *Dialogue* suggested that,

⁸¹Ezra Taft Benson, “Our Immediate Responsibility,” BYU Devotional Address, October 25, 1966, quoted in D. Michael Quinn, “Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 56–57, MP3 format, <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=1611> (accessed May 4, 2010).

⁸²Jerreld L. Newquist, *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1964), viii; Hyrum L. Andrus, *Liberalism, Conservatism, Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 69–70. Receiving substantially less attention were reviews to these books published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. Thomas G. Alexander responded to Newquist’s claim about collectivism by stating: “Had opposition to collectivism been an eternal principle related to the War in Heaven and to man’s free agency, the Lord would never have had his Church practice it” as the Saints had in the nineteenth century. Martin Hickman suggested that Andrus was implying that only right-wing conservatives could be good members of the Church and that, “if the arguments of this book ever become widely accepted in the Church, criteria other than devotion to the gospel will be used to measure acceptable Church behavior, Church members will become confused about the nature and mission of the Church, divisions and bitterness arising from political differences will be infused into Church relationships, and members will be distracted from the principal task of giving effect to the teachings of Christ in their lives.” Thomas G. Alexander, “An Ambiguous Heritage,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2, no. 3 (Autumn 1967): 127–34; Martin Hickman, Review of *Liberalism*,

by ignoring the rights of other nations to self-determination—to impose our ways on them despite the fact that their people have duly elected a Communist government—the United States was “getting close to” supporting Lucifer’s plan. Hugh Nibley took the position that “Satan wasn’t cast out of heaven for voting the wrong way . . . [but] for refus[ing] to accept the verdict. . . . Satan was cast out for refusing to accept the popular vote.”⁸³ Voices on both sides of the debate could make their case by appealing to the war in heaven.

Returning to the tendency to use the war in heaven to justify the United States in times of war, Sterling W. Sill of the First Council of the Seventy invoked the narrative in 1970, the year U.S. and South Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia and National Guardsmen fired on protesters at Kent State. Sill lauded the examples of war heroes like Generals Black Jack Pershing, Douglas MacArthur, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, as well as “our present great commander-in-chief, Richard M. Nixon,” and admonished Church members to remember that “the greatest of all military men was the Son of God himself. In the war in heaven, he led the forces of righteousness against the rebellion of Lucifer.” Sill apparently saw Christ as displacing Michael’s role in the premortal conflict. He continued, “We can also draw great significance from the fact that before the Savior of the world was the Prince of Peace, he was Jehovah the warrior.”⁸⁴

Despite the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, conservative writers and commentators like Glenn Beck have continued to use the war in heaven narrative to warn against what they regard as “socialism” and to denounce the progressive goals of universal health care and governmental efforts to alleviate poverty. A perusal of blog posts and web pages reveals conservative Mormons using the war in heaven to argue against paying taxes, voting for Harry Reid, and as

Conservatism, Mormonism, Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 2, no. 2 (Summer 1967): 115–22.

⁸³Alvin Guy Van Alstyne, Letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 7. Hugh Nibley, “Alma 1–2: Alma Escapes Wealth,” *Teachings of the Book of Mormon*, 4 vols. (Provo: FARMS, n.d.), 2:237.

⁸⁴Sterling W. Sill, “God and Country,” *Improvement Era*, December 1970, 79. Sill repeats much of this material in “The Unknown Soldier,” in his *That Ye Might Have Life* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 51.

the creeping “socialism” into which they saw the nation sliding.⁸⁵ In his 2001 self-published book *The Hidden Things of Darkness*, Christopher S. Bentley, a Mormon who has served as the director of operations for the John Birch Society, argued that the war in heaven “did not cease after Satan was cast out” but has rather intensified. It continues here on earth in the form of “Satanocracy,” “the ongoing effort to enslave mankind” by “convert[ing] government into a destroyer of rights.”⁸⁶

Less than a month following 9/11, President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke in October 2001 general conference of the terrorist attacks and warned members to prepare for the calamities of the last days: “Now, all of us know that war, contention, hatred, suffering of the worst kind are not new. The conflict we see today is but another expression of the conflict that began with the War in Heaven.” He continued, “Treachery and terrorism began with [Satan]. And they will continue until the Son of God returns to rule and reign with peace and righteousness among the sons and daughters of God.”⁸⁷ In 2003, President Hinckley compared the fight against terrorism

⁸⁵For example, see Christopher Hansen, “Tea—2010 AD handbook,” *The Tea Party*, November 19, 2010, <http://ateapartyblog.blogspot.com/2010/11/tea-2010-ad-handbook.html> (accessed November 22, 2010); Kelly Smith, “7 Reasons Why This Mormon Is Not Voting for Harry Reid,” *Inspiration Is Light*, September 3, 2010, http://www.kellywsmith.com/mormon_not_voting_for_harry_reid.html (accessed November 22, 2010); LDS Patriot, “Will the Mormons Please Excommunicate Harry Reid Already,” *LDS Patriot*, June 7, 2006, <http://ldspatriot.wordpress.com/2006/06/07/will-the-mormons-please-excommunicate-harry-reid-already/> (accessed November 22, 2010); Chauncy Childs, “Awake to Our Awful Situation,” *LDS Liberty*, <http://ldsliberty.org/awake-to-our-awful-situation/> (accessed November 22, 2010); Brian Mecham, “The Book of Mormon Warns America, Are You Listening?” *Latter-day Conservative*, December 4, 2009, <http://www.latterdayconservative.com/blog/the-book-of-mormon-warns-america-are-you-listening> (accessed November 22, 2010).

⁸⁶Christopher S. Bentley, *Hidden Things in Darkness: An Exposé of the Enemies of Christ* (Orem, Utah: Sunrise Publishing, 2006), 27, 97.

⁸⁷Gordon B. Hinckley, “The Times in Which We Live,” *Ensign*, November 2001, <http://lds.org/ensign/2001/11/the-times-in-which-we-live?lang=eng> (accessed September 18, 2011).

to the war in heaven.⁸⁸

During the 2008 debate over California's Proposition 8 to repeal gay marriage, LDS pollster and author Gary Lawrence published an article in the online *Meridian Magazine* claiming that "the new battlefield" of the war in heaven was now California and arguing that Lucifer employed arguments of equality and sympathy to win over converts. Lawrence wrote, "If the arguments used in the war in heaven were persuasive enough to draw billions of God's spirit children away from him, why should we not expect them to be used on the present battlefield? The same minions cast out from the Father's presence still remember what worked up there."⁸⁹ Most recently, Elder Quentin L. Cook argued in the October 2010 General Conference that the war in heaven continues today as an attack on religious liberty. "Since the War in Heaven, the forces of evil have used every means possible to destroy agency and extinguish light. The assault on moral principles and religious freedom has never been stronger."⁹⁰

Interestingly, when issuing cautions about economic issues or political tyranny, LDS authors have tended to stress that the war in heaven was about taking away agency; however, when the debate is about sexuality, the emphasis gets switched to Satan's rhetorical power. The war in heaven is used to defend libertarian policies concerning governmental regulation and free-market economics. However, it is also used, with different emphasis, to argue against gay marriage, despite the fact that the opposing side could use the same narrative to justify a libertarian argument.

Perhaps, however, LDS discourse has conflated the issues of freedom and agency. Garth Mangum made this point in a short but insightful essay in *Dialogue*. Citing 2 Nephi 2:16–27, Mangum emphasized: "Free agency was 'given unto man' and he is 'free forever' to act for himself and take the consequences. In that sense, the War in

⁸⁸Gordon B. Hinckley, "War and Peace," *Ensign*, May 2003, 78.

⁸⁹Gary Lawrence, "Wonder What the War in Heaven Was Like? Watch California This Fall," *Meridian Magazine*, <http://www.meridianmagazine.com/ideas/080711war.html> (accessed August 5, 2008). The link to this article appears to have been disabled but it can still be accessed at http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.meridianmagazine.com/ideas/080711war.html (accessed January 31, 2011).

⁹⁰Quentin L. Cook "Let There Be Light!" *Ensign*, November 2010, 27–30.

Heaven was definitive.” The point, Mangum stressed, is that “regardless of what happens to freedom, free agency is not in danger.” As Viktor Frankl put it in his powerful memoir of surviving the German concentration camps, “Everything can be taken from a man but one thing: the last of human freedoms—to choose one’s attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one’s own way.”⁹¹

ANAGOGICAL LEVEL

Finally, the war in heaven narrative serves an anagogical function within Mormon thought, highlighting the prophetic events of Church history and its eventual triumph over adversity. Persecution of the Church was early on seen as a continuation of the war in heaven and as evidence that members were on the right side of that battle. As Apostle George Q. Cannon told Church members in 1866:

The war which was waged in heaven has been transferred to the earth, and it is now being waged by the hosts of error and darkness against God and truth; and the conflict will not cease until sin is extinguished and this earth is fully redeemed from the power of the adversary, and from the misrule and oppression which have so long exercised power over the earth. Do you wonder, then, that there is hatred and bitterness manifested; that the servants of God have had to watch continually to guard against the attacks of the enemy; that the blood of Joseph and Hyrum, David Patten, and others has been shed, and that the Saints, whose only crime was desiring to serve God in truth, virtue, uprightness, and sincerity, have been persecuted and afflicted all the day long? I do not wonder at it; there is no room for wonder in the minds of those who understand the work in which we are engaged.⁹²

Likewise Wilford Woodruff stated that those who were cast out of heaven—the “thousands and millions of fallen spirits”—dwell on the earth and strive to “make war upon the Saints of God, wherever

⁹¹Garth L. Mangum, “Free Agency and Freedom—Some Misconceptions,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1966): 43–49; Viktor Frankl, *Man’s Search for Meaning* (Boston: Beacon, 1959), 66. Dallin Oaks came to a similar conclusion in a BYU Symposium on the Book of Mormon: “Free Agency and Freedom,” October 11, 1987, BYU Speeches, <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=573> (accessed May 4, 2010).

⁹²George Q. Cannon, May 6, 1866, *Journal of Discourses* 11:229–30

or whenever they are found upon the earth.”⁹³ In his introduction to the third volume of the *History of the Church*, editor B. H. Roberts opined that since “in heaven [Satan] opposed the gospel of Jesus Christ; cast out into the earth will he not oppose it there?” Roberts thus saw the persecution of the Latter-day Saints as a manifestation of Lucifer’s hatred for the “institution wrought out in the wisdom of God to bring to pass the salvation of man.”⁹⁴ Edward Tullidge launched an ambitious effort in “A Chapter from the Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,” an unfinished Miltonian epic poem written in heroic couplets. He linked opposition to the Restoration with a continuation of the war in heaven. Only a fragment of the poem was ever published. It depicts Satan calling the forces of fallen angels together to glory in their past rebellion. “We were not crushed. Our strength and hate remained; / And even now the loss might be regained.” Satan announces to the host that the “councils of the skies” had created a plan to “break our spells and rescue fallen man”:

“I need not tell you how the Seers of old,
 “By vain illusions and conceits made bold,
 “Foretold that in the latter times should rise
 “A mighty kingdom towering to the skies,—
 “That Saintly dreamers held a foolish boast
 “That it should break and scatter all our host.
 “Know, then, my lords, those vaunted times now loom,
 “And we must conquer or receive our doom.”

This kingdom would be ushered in by an “Anointed and pre-ordained Seer” who must be opposed, concludes Satan. He urged his forces: “Away, my lords! Crush all who brave our sway! / Flood them—drown them with hate! Away, away!”⁹⁵ Tullidge, Roberts, Cannon, and Woodruff saw LDS Church history as a continuation of the war in heaven with persecution as a sign that the Church was fully engaged

⁹³Wilford Woodruff, May 14, 1882, *Journal of Discourses*, 23:126–27.

⁹⁴B.H. Roberts, “Introduction,” *History of the Church*, 3:lix–lxl.

⁹⁵E. W. Tullidge, “A Chapter from the Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,” *Millennial Star* 20 no. 1 (2 January 1858), 14–16; Blair Hodges “Edward Tullidge’s Miltonian ‘Gathering of the Grand Council of Hell,’” *Faith-Promoting Rumor: Exploring Mormon Thought, Culture, and Texts*, February 4, 2011,

in the battle against Satan. The narrative ties the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to a larger, cosmic history.

But even though the Latter-day Saints will suffer persecutions in this continuing battle, they are assured of eventual success. President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke of it as “the war we are winning” and “a victory assured.”⁹⁶ And as Elder James Hamula reminded young men at the October 2008 Conference, “We are entering the final stages of a great war.” He urged these young men to live righteous lives, assuring them: “His salvation will come, delivering you and yours from every evil.”⁹⁷ Speaking in October 2011 general conference, President Packer mobilized his apostolic authority against Satan’s power to similarly promise his listeners: “As one of His special witnesses, I testify that the outcome of this battle that began in premortal life is not in question. Lucifer will lose.”⁹⁸ In a very real way, members of the LDS Church sense they are engaged in a great battle against evil, but one they will eventually win, just as the forces of God triumphed over Satan in the war in heaven.

CONCLUSION

The war in heaven narrative has provided moral meaning for individual Latter-day Saint lives; served an allegorical function, challenging threats to the Church, explaining earthly inequalities, and promoting individual economic and political agendas; and has linked the mission of the Church to a sacred history, beginning with the premortal councils of heaven and culminating with the final judgment and millennial reign of Christ. At the personal level, the narrative provides a sublime sense of meaning for Latter-day Saints. At the community level, it provides a sense of shared purpose and values. In both the individual and community, it can help make sense of an in-

<http://www.faithpromotingrumor.com/2011/02/edward-tullidiges-miltonian-gathering-of-the-grand-council-of-hell/> (accessed May 10, 2011).

⁹⁶Gordon B. Hinckley, “The War We Are Winning,” *Ensign* November 1986, <http://lds.org/ensign/1986/11/the-war-we-are-winning?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010); and his “An Unending Conflict, A Victory Assured,” *Ensign*, June 2007, <http://lds.org/ensign/2007/06/an-unending-conflict-a-victory-assured?lang=eng> (accessed May 4, 2010).

⁹⁷James J. Hamula, “Winning the War against Evil,” *Ensign*, November 2008, 50–53.

⁹⁸Packer, “Counsel to Youth,” 16, 18.

creasingly complex world. By examining the ways the narrative is used we can see how it shapes and defines both the individual and the community.

With the current political discussion focusing on issues like “big government” and gay marriage, the war in heaven will likely continue to occupy the collective imagination of Latter-day Saints for some time to come. However, a cautionary note is in order: When this narrative is employed as a tool for earthly, political debate, the results can be quite ugly, at least from the vantage point of history. It is challenging, to say the least, to encounter statements by Church authorities that by twenty-first-century standards seem discomfiting at best, disgusting at worst. But only by confronting the past can we learn from it. If we bury this past, as psychologists warn, it will only come back to haunt us.

We often use scripture as if it is the final, ultimate proof in a debate. In this case, if one can compare an opponent’s position to Satan’s in the war in heaven, the argument appears settled. But these scriptural narratives are really the beginning of conversation, not the end of it. Language is slippery and stories are always elusive, hinting at meaning while evading our grasp. At the same moment, one reader will use the war in heaven narrative to describe the evil of limiting agency, while another reader will apply that narrative to describe the dangers of listening to a charismatic secular leader, whether that leader is a Glenn Beck or a Barack Obama. Even more troubling is attempting to read the narrative consistently across different debates. For surely the war on heaven can be seen as a morality tale on the importance of preserving agency, but consistently placing agency over *all* other principles results in the need to defend things one may not want to defend. The libertarian interpretation of the war in heaven narrative can be used to support limited government and free market economics, but it may also be used to support the right to abortion, the legalization of drugs, gay marriage, or guns in schools. Or, as I have witnessed first-hand, it can be used by children to argue with their diabolical parents against being forced to do chores, go to school, or attend church. We soon discover that allegories applied consistently only prove the open-endedness of the allegory. Also, an even bigger problem is that when we start using this particular narrative allegorically, someone is bound to end up being compared to Satan, and this is not the most productive way to win friends or arguments.

Finally, this narrative, as sublime to the individual soul and com-

munity ethos as it is, does not, in the final analysis, productively grapple with the complicated issue of earthly inequality. The motive behind such misguided thinking is, like Milton's, a noble desire "to justify God's ways to man." It attempts to account for the unjust conditions in a world created by a just God. While this reasoning may let God off the hook, it doesn't let us off the hook with God, who has commanded us to "judge not that [we] be not judged" (Matt. 7:1). Furthermore, as we have seen, it is just as easy to argue that those who were valiant in the war in heaven are given greater trials in mortality as it is to argue that they are given greater blessings. Since Mormon theology holds that all who came to earth with physical bodies passed the premortal world's testing, it is safest, and indeed most doctrinally sound, to assume that all of us fought, and fought valiantly, on the side of the angels.

APPENDIX A CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED REFERENCES TO THE WAR IN HEAVEN IN MORMON THOUGHT

- September 1830. Joseph Smith reveals Doctrine and Covenants 29, in which Satan demands God's honor and power.
- October 21, 1830. Joseph Smith completes war in heaven section of his translation of Genesis. It becomes the Book of Moses. War in heaven is transformed into a war of agency.
- February 16, 1832. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon receive "The Vision" (D&C 76), in which they see war in heaven and reveal that it continues on this earth.
- November 1835. Joseph Smith completes his translation of the Book of Abraham, which discusses the premortal council in heaven, great and noble intelligences, and Satan's competition with Jesus to be the Savior.
- April 7, 1844. Joseph Smith delivers his King Follett sermon, in which he states that the war in heaven was caused when Jesus explained a plan that would not guarantee the salvation of all souls. Satan proposed an alternative plan that would save everyone. The council votes rejected Satan's plan and he was cast out.
- November 1, 1844. Wilford Woodruff compares Sidney Rigdon to Lucifer "who made war in heaven."
- April 27, 1845. Orson Hyde compares Rigdon's claim to the presidency to Satan's plan to usurp power in the war in heaven. In the same discourse, Hyde proposes that those born in the "accursed" African race

- “did not take a very active part on either side” of the war in heaven.
- February 21, 1852. An unsigned *Deseret News* editorial warns of the spiritualist movement, citing the war in heaven and Satan’s use of “sophistry and false philanthropy.”
- February 19, 1854. Jedediah M. Grant, a counselor in Brigham Young’s First Presidency, stated that, when Satan was cast out, he was given a “mission” to tempt mortal souls.
- March 16, 1856. Brigham Young says that Satan’s followers were sent to earth to “try the sons of men.” Saints must work to overcome temptation by improving intelligence.
- January 2, 1858. *Millennial Star* publishes Edward Tullidge’s “A Chapter from the Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,” the opening to an unfinished epic poem, which casts opposition to the Church as a continuation of the war in heaven.
- August 3, 1862. Brigham Young compares the Civil War to the war in heaven: “If our Government had cast out the Seceders, the war would soon have been ended.”
- May 6, 1866. George Q. Cannon uses the war in heaven to explain why Church members were persecuted.
- April 8, 1871. Brigham Young states that a premortal division did not take place among resurrected beings and that rebellious spirits were allotted a portion of grace so they did not return to their “native element.”
- June 6, 1880. Wilford Woodruff states that “one hundred million devils” were cast out of heaven, with “a hundred [assigned] to every man, woman and child.”
- July 18, 1880. Orson Pratt says that there were prior rebellions in heaven and calculated that the number of spirits cast out “probably, cannot be less than . . . one hundred thousand millions.”
1882. In his book *Mediation and Atonement*, John Taylor suggests that Satan “probably intended to make men atone for their own acts” by shedding their own blood.
1885. B. H. Roberts hypothesizes that blacks may not have “rebelled against God” but “were so indifferent in their support of the righteous” that they were cursed.
- July 14, 1889. Wilford Woodruff states that there might have been souls “astride the fence” in the war in heaven.
- January 27, 1895. B. H. Roberts describes trials in this life as a sign of premortal favor.
1898. Nephi Anderson’s didactic novel *Added Upon* portrays war in heaven

through conversations between Homan and Delsa, two premortal spirits.

1904. Orson F. Whitney wrote *Elias: An Epic of the Ages*, a Mormon-style epic poem based on Milton, that depicts a war in heaven.

1905. B. H. Roberts links the persecutions of the Saints to the continuation of the war in heaven in his introduction to Vol. 3 of *History of the Church*.

January 13, 1912. The First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose) states: "So far as we know, there is no revelation, ancient or modern, neither is there any authoritative statement by any of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in support of that which many of our elders have advanced as doctrine, in effect that the negroes are those who were neutral in heaven at the time of the great conflict or war."

October 1914. B. H. Roberts defends the U.S. entry into World War I, reasoning that war in heaven proves that God does take sides in war.

April 1917. Charles W. Nibley characterizes World War I as a continuation of the struggle for freedom begun in the war in heaven.

October 1918. Apostle Melvin J. Ballard compares the German Kaiser to Satan in the war in heaven.

April 1928. Seventy Rulon S. Wells states that "Satan is abroad in the land endeavoring to lead the children of God away here as there."

April 1930. Rulon S. Wells states that the war in heaven continues on earth and cites Russia's enslavement under the czars turning into enslavement under the Soviets as an example.

1931. Joseph Fielding Smith's *The Way to Perfection* states that blacks had not necessarily been neutral but "did not stand valiantly."

April 1935. Apostle Rudger Clawson, in the context of the war in heaven, states that now "is a time for the testing of the souls of men."

April 1939. George F. Richards repeats Joseph Fielding Smith's idea that blacks were not valiant.

November 1940. An *Improvement Era* editorial cites the war in heaven and warns that smooth political rhetoric may entice members to give up freedoms.

1941. Nels L. Nelson publishes *The Second War in Heaven as Now Being Waged by Lucifer through Hitler as a Dummy*.

April 5, 1942. David O. McKay, second counselor in the First Presidency, cites the war in heaven as precedent for a justifiable reason to enter

war: to fight for agency.

July 17, 1947. The First Presidency (George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and David O. McKay) writes to sociology professor Lowry Nelson that it has been Church doctrine to deny priesthood to blacks based on the “preexistence of our spirits, the rebellion in heaven, and the doctrines that our birth into this life and the advantages under which we may be born have a relationship in the life heretofore.”

1949. A First Presidency (George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and David O. McKay) statement asserts as a principal reason for denying priesthood to worthy black men the idea that they had not been valiant in the war in heaven.

August 27, 1954. Apostle Mark E. Petersen asserted that the conditions we were born into were a “reflection of our worthiness or lack of it in the pre-existent life.”

1959. Bruce R. McConkie of the First Council of the Seventy publishes *Mormon Doctrine* in which, under the heading for “Negroes,” he wrote: “Those who were less valiant in the preexistence and who thereby had certain spiritual restrictions imposed upon them during mortality are known to us as the negroes.”

March 18, 1961. Alvin R. Dyer, Assistant to the Twelve, defines “three divisions of mankind in the pre-existence, and when you are born into this life, you are born into one of these three divisions of people.”

October 1961. Apostle Ezra Taft Benson calls “whole program of socialistic-communism” a continuation of the war in heaven. He later came to see the war in heaven in any form of “welfare government.”

1964. Jerreld Newquist published *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival*, which claims that any “collectivist philosophy” is linked to Satan’s plan in war in heaven.

1965. Hyrum Andrus’s *Liberalism, Conservatism, Mormonism* links liberalism with “the plan proposed by Lucifer and his hosts in the war in heaven.”

December 1970. Sterling W. Sill of the First Council of the Seventy termed Christ “the greatest of military men” since he led forces against Lucifer in the war in heaven.

April 1972. Harold B. Lee warned that those who demand the right to do as they please are “echoing the plan of Satan.”

1977. Carol Lynn Pearson and Lex de Azevedo’s musical play, *My Turn on Earth*, contains two numbers focusing on the war in heaven: “I Have a Plan” and “Shout for Joy.”

April 1989. Apostle Russell M. Nelson summarized the war in heaven and

commented, “Satan’s method relies on the infectious canker of contention.”

October 1995. In the context of denouncing homosexuality, Apostle Dallin H. Oaks warned: “A person who insists that he is not responsible for the exercise of his free agency because he was ‘born that way’ is trying to ignore the outcome of the War in Heaven. . . . We *are* responsible, and if we argue otherwise, our efforts become part of the propaganda effort of the Adversary.”

2001. Christopher S. Bentley’s self-published *The Hidden Things of Darkness* refers to “Satanocracy,” “the ongoing effort to enslave mankind” by “convert[ing] government into a destroyer of rights.”

October 2001. According to James E. Faust (second counselor in Gordon B. Hinckley’s First Presidency), the war in heaven “rages today ever more fiercely,” and priesthood holders are “marshaled into the great army of righteousness to combat the forces of Lucifer.”

October 2001. Speaking in general conference of 9/11, President Gordon B. Hinckley warned members: “War, contention, hatred, suffering of the worst kind are not new. The conflict we see today is but another expression of the conflict that began with the War in Heaven. . . . Treachery and terrorism began with [Satan]. And they will continue until the Son of God returns to rule and reign.”

May 2003. President Gordon B. Hinckley linked the war on terrorism to the war in heaven.

March 11, 2008. BYU faculty member Terry Ball told his BYU devotional audience that God “sent us to earth at the time and place and circumstances that would best help us reach our divine potential.”

November 2008. President Gordon B. Hinckley says we are winning the continuation of the war in heaven.

November 2008. Elder James Hamula of the Seventy instructed young men: “We are entering the final stages of a great war.”

October 2009. President of the Twelve Boyd K. Packer, speaking of the war in heaven, asserted that we must use agency wisely or we will “find ourselves yielding to the enticements of the adversary.”

October 2009. Apostle Quentin L. Cook urged members to fight for moral principles and religious freedom because, “since the war in heaven, the forces of evil have used every means possible to destroy agency and extinguish light.”

January 12, 2010. Popular conservative talk show host Glenn Beck links his progressive agenda with Satan’s plan on his nationally syndicated ra-

dio program and returns to the same theme on February 4, 2010, and July 9, 2010.

October 2010. Apostle Henry B. Eyring says that “those who lost the blessing of coming into mortality lacked sufficient trust in God to avoid eternal misery.” Apostle M. Russell Ballard cites the war in heaven to warn of Satan’s desire “to exploit and ensnare us with artificial substances and behaviors of temporary pleasure.” Apostle Robert D. Hales said that those who became mortal “chose to have faith in the Savior Jesus Christ” while those who followed Lucifer did not. Apostle Quentin L. Cook spoke of the “assault on moral principles and religious freedom” as a continuation of the war in heaven. President Dieter F. Uchtdorf said: “Pride was the original sin” that “felled Lucifer, a son of the morning” and that if pride could corrupt “one as capable and promising as this, should we not examine our own souls as well?” And President Thomas S. Monson warned that “none would be any wiser, any stronger, any more compassionate, or any more grateful if [Satan’s] plan were followed.”

October 2011. President Boyd K. Packer reviewed the “war in heaven” in which “Lucifer rebelled and, with his followers, was cast out into the earth” where he tries “to control the minds and actions of all.” However, “the outcome of this battle that began in premortal life is not in question. Lucifer will lose.”

THE DANIELSEN PLOW COMPANY AND THE REDEMPTION OF ZION

R. Jean Addams

“Zion shall be redeemed, although she is chastened for a little season.” (LDS D&C 100:13/RLDS D&C 97:4a).¹

“The time for returning to Jackson County is much nearer than many suppose.” –Lorenzo Snow, July 6, 1899²

THIS ARTICLE ANALYZES THE EFFORTS of Wilhelm G. Danielsen, a convert from Denmark, to physically “redeem Zion” by relocating his successful plow manufacturing company from Logan, Utah, to Independence in 1907. As his family had “gathered” after conversion in Denmark, so Wilhelm hoped to continue the gospel thrust by contributing to the redemption of Zion. His plan was to provide a strong manufacturing institution in the heart of Zion that could provide jobs for Mormons. This effort began with high hopes, financial support, and strong encouragement from highly placed LDS officials and businessmen. However, it fizzled into a distress-

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ing series of management difficulties, financial woes, and contentious lawsuits. Danielsen, disillusioned, abandoned Mormonism and joined the RLDS Church.

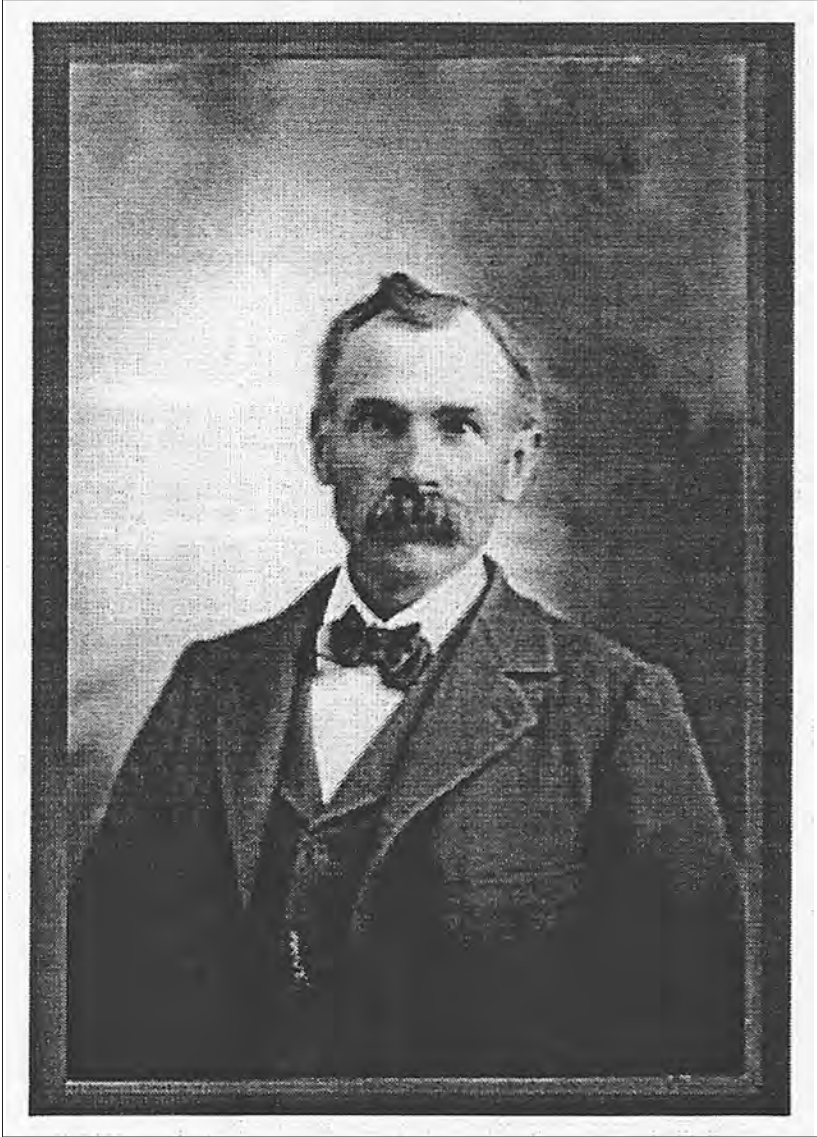
But the story of Danielsen's two companies—Danielsen Plow and Danielsen Implement—is more than a business venture gone sour. Rather, it provides an absorbing view of the theological competition among three expressions of the Joseph Smith Jr. movement at the eschatologically important site of Independence. Although Danielsen's personal story was disappointing, the Danielsen Implement Company was part of a concerted movement by the LDS Church to establish a physical presence in Independence—a permanent presence that the LDS Church has maintained to this day.

This article sets the scene by reviewing the contentious history of the Temple Lot case, a legal contest between the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Because of this case, the LDS Church developed a keen interest in Independence although it refused an invitation to become directly involved in the legal contest. The article then summarizes the

Zion: Denmark, Utah, and Missouri—LDS/RLDS” at the Mormon History Association conference, Kansas City, Missouri, May 28, 2010. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: He extends special thanks to Bill and Annette Curtis, who first suggested a connection between the Danielson Plow Company and the “redemption of Zion” and for providing materials and sources. He also thanks Ronald G. Watt for locating important research sources at the LDS Church History Library.

¹Joseph Smith received this revelation October 12, 1833, while he and his counselor, Sidney Rigdon, were in Perrysburg, New York. The revelation predates the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County but was two and one-half months after the destruction of the Church-owned press and the tar and feathering of Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen on July 20, 1833. Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 1:196 (hereafter *History of the LDS Church*). Because this article deals with the period before 2001 when the RLDS Church's name changed to the Community of Christ (while legally retaining its incorporation name), I use “RLDS Church” throughout.

²Lorenzo Snow, quoted in David S. and Roy Hoopes, *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1990), 181–82. Snow made these remarks at a meeting attended by seven hundred Church leaders held in the Salt Lake Temple.



Wilhelm G. Danielsen (1854–1931), a Danish convert to the LDS Church and a gifted inventor, gladly established a farm implement factory in Independence as part of “the redemption of Zion,” only to have the enterprise fail. Disillusioned, he joined the RLDS Church where he was active until his death. Photo courtesy of the Marriott Library, Special Collections, University of Utah.

status of the “redemption of Zion” concept, a belief that has not been a lively part of contemporary Mormonism since about 1920,³ provides background on the Danielsen factory in Utah, traces the relocation of Danielsen’s company to Independence, and then chronicles the woes that led to its financial failure, legal entanglements, and extinction as an institution.

THE TEMPLE LOT CASE

The earliest Church to return and stake a claim in Independence after the death of Joseph Smith Jr. was the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), organized in 1852 in Illinois, and often referred to as Hedrickites after Granville Hedrick, the Church’s first recognized leader.⁴ After an 1864 vision to Hedrick, the Church returned to Jackson County in 1867.⁵

The second major movement, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, assumed formal organization in 1860 under Joseph Smith III, the oldest surviving son of Joseph and Emma Smith. The RLDS Church officially authorized a “gradual” return in

³The phrase “redemption of Zion” was used by general conference speakers 116 times—100 times between 1850 and 1920, but only sixteen times since 1920. In fact there have been no references since the 1980s. Keyword search, “redemption of Zion,” <http://corpus.byu.edu/gc> (accessed August 30, 2011).

⁴R. Jean Addams, “Reclaiming the Temple Lot in the Center Place of Zion,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 7 (Spring/Fall 2006): 7–20; R. Jean Addams, “The Church of Christ (Temple Lot), Its Emergence, Struggles, and Early Schisms,” in *Scattering of the Saints: Schism within Mormonism*, edited by Newell G. Bringhurst and John C. Hamer (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2007), 206–33; R. Jean Addams, “The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: 130 Years of Crossroads and Controversies,” *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 54–127; R. Jean Addams, “Early Sociological Issues Confronted by the Church of Christ (Temple Lot): African Americans, Native Americans, and Women,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 30 (2010): 109–32; and R. Jean Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot: The Church of Christ’s Quest to Build the House of the Lord* (Independence: John Whitmer Books, 2010).

⁵Bert C. Flint, *An Outline History of the Church of Christ [Temple Lot]* (Independence: Church of Christ Board of Publications, 1953), 107–8.

1877.⁶ The Church was headquartered in Lamoni, Iowa, when it filed a “Notice to Quit Possession” on the Church of Christ’s land that included the historic temple site on June 11, 1887.⁷ The Church of Christ, to no one’s surprise, did not acquiesce to this demand. That same year (1887) the RLDS Church commenced the construction of its beautiful Stone Church—directly across the street from the Temple Lot.⁸

On August 6, 1891, the RLDS Church sued to challenge the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) for ownership of the sacred temple lot.⁹ In January 1896, after much expensive maneuvering, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals which had ruled in favor of the Church of Christ.¹⁰

It was generally assumed—and was, in fact, true—that the LDS

⁶Joseph III Smith and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1805–1890*, 4 vols.; continued by F. Henry Edwards as *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, Vols. 5–8 (Independence: Herald House, 1897–1903, 1967 printing), 4:166–67 (hereafter *History of the RLDS Church*); Joseph Smith III and Henry Stebbins, “Notes on Travel,” *Herald* 24, no. 2 (January 15, 1877): 25.

⁷“Notice to Quit Possession, Served by G. A. Blakeslee, by Attorney, Bishop and Trustee for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,” June 11, 1887, Independence, Exhibit 24, in *The Temple Lot Case* (1893; rpt., Independence: Price Publishing, 2003), 247–48. The 1893 printing did not include the “Decision of John F. Philips, Judge in the Temple Lot Case” since his decision was not announced until March 3, 1894.

⁸Richard A. Brown, *An Illustrated History of the Stone Church* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1988), 8. Joseph Smith III officially laid the cornerstone on April 6, 1888.

⁹*The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Complainant, vs. the Church of Christ at Independence, Missouri: Richard Hill, Trustee; [et al.]*, Bill of Equity, U.S. Circuit Court, Western Missouri District, Kansas City, August 6, 1891, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington D.C., January 27, 1896 (163 U.S. 681) (hereafter *Temple Lot Case*); typescripts at the Community of Christ Library-Archives, Independence, Kansas City (Missouri) Public Library, and the LDS Church History Library. See Ronald E. Romig, “The Temple Lot Suit after 100 Years,” *John Whitmer Historical Journal* 12 (1992): 3–15; and Paul E. Reimann, *The Reorganized Church and the Civil Courts* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1961), 149–64.

¹⁰“Temple Lot Suit,” *Herald* 43, no. 5 (January 29, 1896): 69.

Church had provided and/or facilitated financial aid to the Church of Christ during this litigation.¹¹ The RLDS Church made its next major step in Independence by organizing the Independence Stake in 1901.¹² In 1905, Edmund L. Kelley, the Church's presiding bishop (and hence its chief financial officer), moved to Independence.¹³ Joseph Smith III relocated to Independence in August 1906.¹⁴ In early 1918, the RLDS Church began the relocation of its headquarters to Independence and formalized the action with a conference vote in April 1920.¹⁵

Except for its indirect support of the Church of Christ, the LDS Church had taken no steps toward establishing a presence in Independence. But in February 1900, four years after the conclusion of the Temple Lot case, two of the leading elders of the Church of Christ visited LDS Church headquarters to solicit help in building a temple on its lot "in this generation" (discussed below).¹⁶ The First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve seriously considered the invitation and ultimately declined it; however, it awakened LDS interest in the physical redemption of Zion as a near reality.

¹¹Charles A. Hall, Letters to John M. Cannon, March 26 and May 27, 1893, John M. Cannon Papers, LDS Church History Library. Hall was president of the Church of Christ during the early years of the Temple Lot Case and had a close relationship with Cannon, a nephew of George Q. Cannon. Through John Cannon, Hall arranged some loans in his own name, so as not to encumber the Church of Christ, to pay the legal fees required to defend the Church's title to the Temple Lot. Addams, "The Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," 75–77; Romig, "The Temple Lot Suit after 100 Years," 3–15, and Reimann, *The Reorganized Church and the Civil Courts*, 149–64.

¹²Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (6th ed., Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1959), 570.

¹³*Ibid.*, 575.

¹⁴*History of the RLDS Church*, 6:168–69.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 7:269. "Adopt Moving Plans," *Jackson Examiner*, April 16, 1920, 1.

¹⁶Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), February 8, 1900, 2; February 10, 1900, 1–6; February 21, 1900, 2–24, hereafter cited as Journal History. The First Presidency minutes, usually not available to researchers, were included in the Journal History for a brief period.

THE “REDEMPTION OF ZION”

Joseph Smith Jr. had sent missionaries to Independence within months of the Church’s organization in New York in 1830. Although their goal of converting the “Lamanites” (Indians living just across the state line) failed, revelations designated Jackson County, of which Independence was the seat, as “Zion” and the site of Jesus Christ’s second coming to a temple that would be built there. Joseph dedicated a temple site “near the courthouse” in August 1831. Edward Partridge, the Church’s bishop in Independence, following Joseph’s instructions, purchased 63.27 acres, encompassing the temple site, in December 1831.

In the summer and fall of 1833, Jackson County “old residents” forcibly expelled the Mormons. By December 1833, Joseph Smith announced a revelation from the Lord that presented “my will concerning the redemption of Zion” (LDS D&C 101:43/RLDS D&C 98:6a). After rebuking the Saints for their “jarrings and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires” (v. 6/v.3a), the Lord added the consoling promise that “Zion shall not be moved” and that the “pure in heart shall return, and come to their inheritances” (vv. 17–18/4g). The revelation underscored that “there is none other place appointed” than Independence to be Zion (v. 20/4h).

In June 1834, while the exiled Saints hovered insecurely in Clay County, another revelation postponed an immediate return: “It is expedient in me that mine elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion” (LDS D&C 105:9, 13/RLDS D&C 102:3c, f). Joseph Smith’s bold gesture of arriving at the head of Zion’s Camp that summer only prompted an aggressive reaction from Jackson County’s old settlers, and an outbreak of cholera hastened the dismal disbanding of the para-military group. In early 1838 when Joseph Smith moved permanently from Ohio to Missouri, he abandoned the reality of a return for rhetoric that sustained the concept of a future return; but the Mormon War that broke out that fall, Joseph’s six-month subsequent imprisonment, and the establishment of Nauvoo in the spring of 1839 marked a tacit end to efforts to establish Zion in Jackson County.

The revelatory rhetoric, however, flourished, commonly interpreted as a reclamation of the “sacred space” known as the Temple Lot.¹⁷ Prophets, apostles, missionaries, and members alike in all three movements repeatedly addressed the parallel themes of “gath-

¹⁷*History of the LDS Church*, 1:75–76.

ering to Zion" (defined by the Utah Mormons as the West) and the "redemption of Zion" (which continued to be interpreted as Jackson County) at some point in the future.¹⁸ While the commandment to "gather" informally ended for Latter-day Saints in 1898,¹⁹ the concept of physically redeeming Zion did not.

The passion of LDS Church leaders in proclaiming a return to and reclamation of Zion continued to flourish. Brigham Young's successor, John Taylor, established a fund for purchasing land in Jackson County.²⁰ Taylor's second successor, Lorenzo Snow, spoke on this topic frequently, as did other LDS General Authorities, through the early years of the twentieth century. For example, President Snow preached: "But a large portion of the Latter-day Saints that now dwell in these valleys will go back to Jackson county to build a holy city to the Lord."²¹ In 1901, Apostle Rudger Clawson recorded in his diary after a meeting of the Twelve: "One brother spoke in tongues to the effect that the impression given to Pres. Snow of late regarding the redemption of the Center Stake of Zion, and the building of the great temple were from the Lord, and such event would transpire much sooner than many supposed."²² Benjamin F. Cummings, editor of *Liahona: The Elders' Journal*, wrote hopefully in 1909: The Latter-day

¹⁸LDS D&C 84:3–4/RLDS D&C 2a-b. Orson Pratt, June 14, 1874, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1854–86), 17:108–13; Orson Pratt, October 7, 1854, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:54–61; Brigham Young, November 14, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:151–56; Orson F. Whitney, Address, KSL Radio, December 1, 1929, published as "Zion and Her Stakes," *Liahona: The Elders' Journal* 28, no. 2 (July 8, 1930): 31; Ronald D. Dennis, *The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 2; *History of the Reorganized Church*, 4:166–67; Smith and Stebbins, "Notes on Travel," 25; Granville Hedrick, "Revelation," *Truth Teller* 1, no. 1 (July 1864): 4.

¹⁹George Q. Cannon, *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 1898 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual).

²⁰George Q. Cannon, First Presidency Minutes, in *Journal History*, February 21, 1900, 13–14.

²¹Lorenzo Snow, "The Redemption of Zion," November 7, 1900, *Milennial Star* 62, no. 48 (November 29, 1900): 753–56.

²²Rudger Clawson, *Journal*, January 10, 1901, 187, MS 0481, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

Saints have reached a plane of advancement which fully warrants the belief that thousands upon thousands among them are both ready and worthy to begin to build the city of Zion and the Temple of the Lord in the promised land; and that very soon, sooner than many Saints expect, the redemption of Zion will be in progress and the corner stone of the Temple will be laid.”²³ Brigham H. Roberts, who had never participated in Missouri events of the 1830s, in his 1930 multivolume history discussed the relocation of the mission home to Independence and the establishment of Zion’s Printing and Publishing (all discussed below), then summarizes: “. . . all which activities may represent preliminary steps to the final redemption of this center place of the empire of the Christ in the New World.”²⁴

Members of the Church of Christ felt the same inspiring anticipation. Elder George D. Cole in a published prayer expressed his hope for Zion: “Oh Lord we desire to renew our covenants with Thee, and we will walk in Thy ways and keep Thy commandments; yea, we will renew our covenants with Thee by sacrifice, every sacrifice that thou shalt require of us for Zion’s redemption and deliverance.” He also asked for the faith and prayers of “all they that love Zion and look for her redemption” on his behalf, “for I am not laboring for money, I am laboring for Zion and her redemption.”²⁵ Elder John R. Haldeman, as editor of the Church’s paper in 1908, posed the rhetorical question: “We would enquire if there is a very bright promise for the old men and women now living who are hoping and praying that they may live to witness the redemption of Zion?” He then added: “One hears a great deal of talk . . . about the ‘Redemption of Zion.’ Some understand it as “repossessing the land once held in Jackson County by the church members. To others it has a spiritual meaning, while some may be found who believe it has both a temporal and spiritual meaning.”²⁶ Haldeman also brought a practical tone to “the redemption and establishment of Zion,” which is “How shall the money be raised[?]” He pointed out: “A perusal of the early revelations reveals

²³Benjamin F. Cummings, “When Will the Temple Be Built?,” *Liahona: The Elders’ Journal* 6, no. 45 (April 24, 1909): 1082–87.

²⁴Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* 6:430–1.

²⁵George D. Cole, “Zion and Her Redemption,” *Searchlight* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1896): 24. This article is a two-part series published in April, pp. 15, 22–24, and May, pp. 30–32, 34–35, 39–40.

²⁶John R. Haldeman, “About That Servant,” *Evening and Morning Star*

the fact that consecration was the first step toward the gaining of an inheritance upon the consecrated land.”²⁷

The RLDS community shared equally in the hope of redeeming Zion. In his memoirs, Joseph Smith III soberly recalled his motivation in making the move to Independence in 1906: “I did so . . . to fulfill, as I believed, a religious duty to become a resident of the place designated of old as Zion.”²⁸ J. G. Hodges raised the persistent, practical question about Zion’s redemption: “At present prices how can Zion be redeemed by the Saints ‘by purchase’?” He then paraphrased the scripture: “Zion is to be redeemed by power” (LDS 103:15/RLDS 100:3d; both read: “The redemption of Zion must needs be by power”). His conclusion is a vigorous one that propounds an unusual interpretation: “I believe that by the power of God displayed in scourges, in the fierce and vivid lightning, by famine, floods, cyclones, and by people dying off from the earth, land will be cheaper than it has been for years, and thus Zion will be redeemed by purchase.”²⁹ In the throes of World War II, President Frederick M. Smith, expressed “rejoicing that already the problems of gathering and establishment of Zion are pressing more heavily upon us. This is as we anticipated, and as [it] should be, for as we progress on our happy yet difficult road to Zion, we will constantly be in need of the encouragement that lies in our slogan, ‘Onward to Zion,’ even though the road be upward and difficult.”³⁰

THE DANIELSEN FAMILY OF DENMARK

Mormon missionaries proselytizing in Borelunde, Denmark, converted four children of blacksmith Daniel Danielsen, who obeyed the commandment and gathered to Zion between 1877 and 1878. Wilhelm George (born May 28, 1854), age twenty-four, settled in

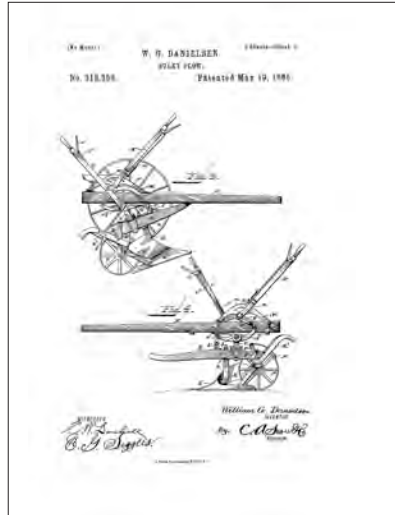
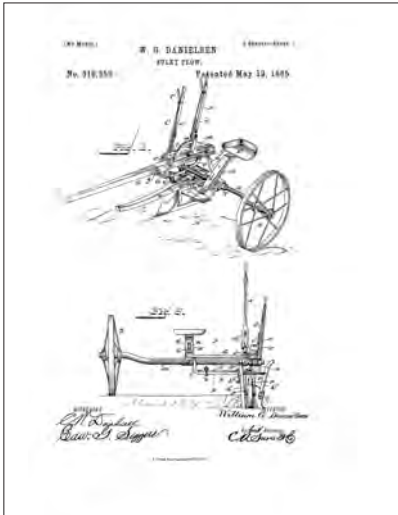
8, no. 11 (March 1908): 1–2.

²⁷John R. Haldeman, Untitled article, *Evening and Morning Star* 6, no. 4 (August 1905): 1–3.

²⁸Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832–1914)* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1979 reprint), 451.

²⁹J. G. Hodges, “The Redemption of Zion,” *Herald* 50, no. 25 (July 1, 1903): 605.

³⁰Frederick M. Smith, “Problems of the Gathering,” *Saints Herald* 89, no. 12 (October 17, 1942): 3.



"William" G. Danielsen's first patent, an improvement to the sulky plow, patented May 19, 1885, showing the mechanism that will adjust the depth of the blade depending on the soil. www.uspto.gov/main/search.html (accessed October 1, 2009).

Cache County, Utah, with his siblings and other Danish converts. He lived first in Mendon, approximately eight miles west of Logan, then relocated to Richmond in 1883, about fifteen miles north of Logan, and set up in the trade of blacksmith.³¹ In October 1881, he married Lindsey ("Linzy") Findley (b. September 29, 1861), the daughter of English converts, and they became the parents of twelve children.³²

Wilhelm was a skilled smith of an inventive turn of mind, quickly improving some of the farm equipment with which he worked.³³ By early 1885, he had developed a remarkable innovation for the sulky plow: a mechanism for adjusting the blade's depth, based on soil con-

³¹Karen Ericksen, *Our Danish Roots* (Berkeley, Calif.: n. pub., 2002), 199–200, 213.

³²"Mrs. Linzy Danielsen Dies," *Independence Examiner*, February 8, 1944, 2; William J. Curtis and Annette W. Curtis, eds., *The Missouri Independence Mission: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1883–2005, the Return to Zion*, 4th printing, rev. (Independence: n. pub., 2005), 227–28.

³³Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Memories and Reflections: The Autobiography of*

ditions. On May 19, 1885, he received the first of many patents from the U.S. Patent Office for this invention.³⁴ His plow was nicknamed the “Horse’s Friend,” and Danielsen received considerable notice in Utah papers.³⁵

Over the next ten years, Danielsen’s business thrived; and by 1895, he was partners with William Merrill, also a farm implement manufacturer, in Logan.³⁶ For unknown reasons the partnership ended; and by 1900 Merrill had opened his own shop, named the Utah Implement Company.³⁷ Danielsen, meanwhile, established the Danielsen Manufacturing Company in Logan and is listed by 1905 as president of the Danielsen Plow Company at the same address.³⁸ The distinction between Danielsen Plow and Danielsen Manufacturing was never completely clear except for their separate legal identities, and both names are used interchangeably in contemporary documents. From all indications, Danielsen’s businesses were among the most successful in Utah at this point.

THE LDS CHURCH AND THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

Unbeknownst to Danielsen, a high-level meeting of Church rep-

E[phraim] E. Ericksen (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 35.

³⁴Journal History, January 21, 1885, 9. This variation was called the “sulky plow,” since, like the light two-wheeled vehicle by that name, it had a seat for the driver.

³⁵Journal History, June 3, 1885, 10; August 1, 1885, 6.

³⁶Merrill and Danielsen, Assessment [property tax] Roll 1895, Block 8–14, Richmond, Cache County, Utah, 76, Merrill-Cazier Library, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan (hereafter Merrill-Cazier Library); *History of Richmond, Utah* (N.p.: Richmond Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 35.

³⁷William Merrill c/o Utah Implement Company, Assessment [property tax] Roll 1900, Richmond, Cache County, Utah, 75, Merrill-Cazier Library.

³⁸“Danielson [sic] Manufacturing,” *Deseret News*, November 27, 1899, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid> (accessed March 25, 2010). The new company “has a capitalization of \$24,000 divided into 240 shares of \$100 each.” *Logan City Directory, 1905–06* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1906), 57. The *Deseret News*, a weekly from 1850 became a semi-weekly in 1865 titled the *Deseret Evening News*. In 1920, the name reverted to the *Deseret News*, and the paper became a daily in 1922. This article cites both iterations.

representatives five years earlier would set him on a new course—the redemption of Zion that was the logical nineteenth-century follow-up of gathering to Zion. On January 18–19, 1900, Elders John R. Haldeman and George P. Frisbey of the Church of Christ met in Lamoni, Iowa, then RLDS Church headquarters, with the RLDS First Presidency: Joseph Smith III, Alexander Hale Smith, and Edmund L. Kelley. They “had been moved by the Spirit” to seek a reconciliation of differences then existing between themselves and the RLDS and LDS churches and to solicit help in building the prophesied millennial temple envisioned by the Prophet Joseph Smith.³⁹ The two groups tentatively agreed to a proposed conference in Independence to which each Church would send four delegates. The RLDS leaders wished Haldeman and Frisbey well in extending the same invitation to the LDS First Presidency but did not hold out much hope that the LDS Church would participate. They also clearly specified that Haldeman and Frisbey could not represent the RLDS Church in any meeting with LDS leaders.⁴⁰

On February 8, 1900, Frisbey, this time accompanied by Elder George D. Cole, called on the LDS First Presidency—Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith—in Salt Lake City.⁴¹ After the elders explained the purpose of their visit, Snow arranged a meeting for February 10 which the apostles who were in Salt Lake City could attend. At that meeting, Frisbey and Cole again explained that the purpose of the proposed joint conference in Independence would be to discuss the possibility of reconciliation of doctrinal differences with a goal of advancing toward the construction of the long-awaited temple on the sacred ground owned by the Church of Christ.

When the meeting concluded, President Snow asked if the Church of Christ elders could extend their visit, as guests of the LDS Church, while efforts were made to contact other apostles and arrange for their prompt return to Salt Lake City. Frisbey and Cole readily accepted the invitation; and eleven days later on February 21, 1900, the First Presidency, seven members of the Quorum of the

³⁹*History of the RLDS Church*, 5:488–89; LDS D&C 57:1–3/RLDS D&C 57:1a–d; Addams, *Upon the Temple Lot*, 33–40.

⁴⁰*History of the RLDS Church*, 5:489.

⁴¹Journal History, February 8, 1900, 2; February 9, 1900, 1; February 10, 1–6; February 21, 2–24. A unnamed secretary took minutes at all of these meetings.

Twelve, and two members of the Presiding Bishopric held a lengthy meeting with the two Church of Christ elders.⁴²

Following the elders' presentation and an exchange of questions and answers, which consumed the morning, Elders Cole and Frisbey were excused so that the LDS Church leaders could discuss the matter privately in an afternoon session. President Snow instructed the LDS officials present to speak freely about the proposed conference in Independence.⁴³

Rather than directly responding to the request of the Church of Christ elders, George Q. Cannon, Snow's first counselor, spoke instead about the 63.27 acres that Bishop Edward Partridge had purchased in December 1831,⁴⁴ which included the two-and-a-half-acre parcel held by the Church of Christ. "Our hearts for years have inclined towards the center stake of Zion," Cannon stated, citing as evidence the fund, created during John Taylor's administration, for purchasing land in Independence.⁴⁵

President Snow stated that "President Cannon had expressed his views exactly in relation to the purchase of land [in Jackson County]." Snow added that his mind "was tolerably clear in regard to the redemption of Zion. We are not prepared for it now. . . . We must have money."⁴⁶ The minutes continue: "It was clear to his mind it would not take long to create a fund, and when this should be done it would be in order to purchase the land as opportunity presented without creating excitement. In this way, he believed, Zion would be redeemed, as President Cannon had said, by purchase."⁴⁷

The discussion that followed, however, concluded that the LDS Church would not participate in the proposed three-Church conference for several reasons: specific revelation to build a temple would come only to the Lord's chosen prophet (meaning Lorenzo Snow), the impossibility of reconciliation with the RLDS Church, concern of

⁴²Ibid., February 10, 1900, 1-6; February 21, 1900, 2-24.

⁴³Ibid., February 21, 1900, 2-24.

⁴⁴Jones H. Flourney and Clara Flourney, Deed to Edward Partridge, December 19, 1831, Jackson County, Property Records, B:1. The 63¼ acres is currently distributed: Community of Christ 40½, LDS Church 20, Church of Christ (Temple Lot) 2¾.

⁴⁵Minutes, February 21, 1900, Journal History, 13.

⁴⁶Ibid., February 21, 1900, 13-14.

⁴⁷Ibid., 14.

“some trick being played against us,” and the need for money.⁴⁸ Later that afternoon, President Snow advised Elders Frisbey and Cole that the LDS Church would decline the invitation that had been sincerely extended. “President Snow conversed privately with them and apparently they were quite prepared to receive what he said to them.” Snow did offer to pay for their expenses to and from Utah and “this mark of kindness [was received] very thankfully, and they left with the best of feelings.”⁴⁹

In my opinion, this meeting with the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) elders was a significant catalyst in the LDS Church’s return to Jackson County and a renewed interest in the physical redemption of Zion. Only three months later, the First Presidency called James G. Duffin, a seasoned missionary, as president of the Southwestern States Mission, headquartered in St. John, Kansas. Before the year’s end, on December 26, 1900, Duffin moved the offices of the mission to Kansas City, Missouri.⁵⁰ Although Jackson County had always been included in whatever LDS mission had jurisdiction in the Midwest, Duffin’s relocation of the mission headquarters established the first official LDS presence in Jackson County since the forced exodus of 1833, and it came only ten months following the Hedrickite elders’ visit to Salt Lake City. By 1902, the LDS Church published an edition of the Book of Mormon in Kansas City.⁵¹

On April 4, 1904, the mission name was changed to the Central States Mission, a name that not only reflected the geographical jurisdiction more accurately but also suggested the revelatory “center

⁴⁸Ibid., 21–23.

⁴⁹Ibid., 23–24.

⁵⁰James G. Duffin was born May 30, 1860, in Salt Lake City. On June 13, 1887, he was called to serve a mission in the Southern States and, in October 1899, served a second mission, this time in the Southwestern States. In May 1900, Duffin was appointed mission president and served until November 1, 1906. http://www.lib.byu.edu/dlib/mmd/diarists/Duffin_James_Gledhill.html (accessed November 10, 2010). See also Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 158.

⁵¹Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 159. The Kansas City, Missouri, edition is the same as the 1891 Salt Lake City edition, published by Burd & Fletcher Printing for the Southwestern States Mission. Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, eds., *A Mormon Bibliography: 1830–1930*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004), 1:84.

place of Zion.”⁵² After a “quiet” search for property near the temple lot, Duffin acquired a twenty-six-acre parcel from the Maggie C. Swope Estate in Independence on April 14, 1904. This land was directly southeast of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) property, and twenty acres of the twenty-six had been part of Partridge’s 1831 purchase.⁵³ In October 1905, Duffin purchased a smaller parcel adjoining the 1904 purchase and fronting Walnut Street.⁵⁴ For these purchases, Duffin used the fund established for the “purchase of land in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, and the redemption of Zion.”⁵⁵

Possibly in response, on July 17, 1906, Richard Hill, trustee-in-trust for the Church of Christ, purchased from the city of Independence for \$75 a triangular strip of approximately one-fourth acre, north of the 2.5 acres it already owned, thus increasing the Church’s acreage to 2.75 acres. This triangle had originally been platted as part

⁵²Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 161.

⁵³Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Maggie C. Swope, Deed to James G. Duffin, April 14, 1904, 251:66; untitled news item, *Jackson Examiner*, April 22, 1904, 1. Duffin subsequently deeded this property to Joseph F. Smith, also on April 14, 1904, but the transfer was not recorded until 1907, two years after Duffin was released as president of the Central States Mission and three years after the land purchase. Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, James G. and Mary Jane Duffin, Deed to Joseph F. Smith, July 5, 1907, 273:152–53.

⁵⁴Robert D. and Mary W. Mize, Deed to James G. Duffin, October 11, 1905, Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, 265:323.

⁵⁵Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, Letter to William H. Smart, April 18, 1904. After thanking Smart for his donation, the First Presidency stated: “We . . . have great pleasure in saying that we have recently purchased nearly twenty six acres of this temple lot property for which we paid \$25,000.” A hand-written receipt included with the letter specified that the donation is for the “Jackson County Temple Fund.” Later, the fund’s name was preprinted on prenumbered receipts dated February 13, 1905, and December 30, 1911, acknowledging additional donations by William H. Smart. Color photocopies of the letter and all three receipts were generously provided by Smart’s grandsons, Thomas and William. For more information on William H. Smart, see William B. Smart, *Mormonism’s Last Colonizer: The Life and Times of William H. Smart* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008).

of a street but the city had abandoned that plan.⁵⁶

Three months later, Samuel O. Bennion, who had been serving as a missionary under Duffin, replaced him as president in 1906 and served a remarkably long term—until 1934—continuing Duffin's emphasis on establishing a viable LDS presence in Independence.⁵⁷ In early 1907, Bennion moved the mission headquarters from Kansas City to Independence into a home near the corner of Pleasant and Walnut streets.⁵⁸ That spring, the mission rented space in the *Independence Examiner* (local newspaper) building on nearby Lexington Street in downtown Independence and the LDS Church commenced the publication of a missionary newspaper, the *Liahona*.⁵⁹ The press was formally incorporated in October 1907 as Zion's Printing and Publishing Company⁶⁰ and, in addition to the weekly *Liahona*, also began printing missionary tracts, books, and in

⁵⁶Jackson County, Property Records, City of Independence, Deed to Richard Hill, July 17, 1906, 264:621–22.

⁵⁷Samuel O. Bennion was born June 9, 1874, in Taylorsville, Utah, and was called to the Central States Mission on November 9, 1904. He replaced Duffin on October 1, 1906, and served as president until January 20, 1934. Almost a year earlier, he had been sustained at the April 1933 general conference to the First Council of Seventy where he served until his death on March 8, 1945. <http://www.gapages.com/benniso1.htm> (accessed November 22, 2010).

⁵⁸"History of the Central States Mission" (Independence: n.p.: n.d.), 28. This document is a double-spaced typescript in a three-ring binder with no editor(s) identified; photocopy in my possession. At this time, approximately fifty Mormons (up from approximately thirty-five in 1903) lived in the Kansas City-Independence area. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 162.

⁵⁹Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 10. This publication was named the *Liahona* for its first eleven issues beginning with Volume 1, no. 1 dated April 6, 1907. It was then consolidated with the *Elders' Journal* (published by the Southern States Mission in Chattanooga, Tennessee) and renamed *Liahona: The Elders' Journal* (1907–42). "To Consolidate with 'Liahona,'" *Jackson Examiner*, April 26, 1907, 3.

⁶⁰"Now a Corporation," *Jackson Examiner*, October 17, 1907, 2. Samuel O. Bennion was a major stockholder. Other stockholders were North America mission presidents. Interestingly, Wilhelm G. Danielsen was a minor stockholder.

1916, the Book of Mormon.⁶¹

The events of 1904 to 1907, including the purchase of property, the move of the mission office, and the establishment of the printing press in Independence, were achieved without dramatic fanfare but were unquestionably an LDS effort to physically and publicly establish a presence. At this point, Joseph F. Smith, who had been Lorenzo Snow's counselor during the revived interest in the redemption of Zion, had become Church president in October 1901; Duffin and Bennion were obviously acting with Church support and on its behalf.

DANIELSEN IMPLEMENT COMPANY INCORPORATED

It is against this background that Wilhelm Danielsen again enters the picture. In late 1906 or early 1907, as the LDS Church pursued its quiet but deliberate return to Jackson County, a related and relevant idea was conceived. As Lorenzo Snow had noted, a physical return would require funding. Therefore, to attract LDS families to the area, the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve considered the advantages of building a factory in Independence that could provide stable employment.

Whether LDS Church leaders contacted Wilhelm G. Danielsen or Danielsen contacted leaders of the LDS Church is not documented in any record that I have found except for a family tradition. According to Ephraim E. Ericksen, a nephew of Wilhelm Danielsen,

Our parents had told us of Independence, Missouri, and of Jackson County, the "center stake of Zion." We had been told that "our people will someday return and repossess this beautiful land of promise." One of my uncles, William [Wilhelm] G. Danielsen, and his family had gone there for that purpose.

Uncle Bill was an inventive genius. As a blacksmith in Richmond and Logan, he had invented a sulky plow and other farm implements and had acquired a reputation as a skillful manufacturer. A man of faith and great imagination, Uncle Bill had pictured a future beyond his reach. He dreamed about being called to Independence to construct a plow factory and to pioneer the return of the Saints. He did not

⁶¹"History of the Central States Mission," 28. The first known missionary tract published by Zion's Printing and Publishing Company appeared in June 1908: *The Forerunner: Devoted to Fair Play/Opposed to Bigotry*. In 1916, the first Independence edition of the Book of Mormon was published. Flake and Draper, *A Mormon Bibliography*, 1:420.

have the necessary capital to undertake such a project, but being sure of his ability and the divinity of this mission, he convinced President Joseph F. Smith of the desirability of such a project and received money to finance it. The factory was built and production was on the way.⁶²

This family story may shade developments too positively in Danielson's direction. It seems equally likely that Church leaders from the Logan area, including the Merrill family, may have thought of Danielson when the concept of a decisive step toward the redemption of Zion began taking shape.⁶³ Furthermore, Danielson's reputation for his inventions was well known throughout the region.⁶⁴ Danielson had continued to improve his sulky plow and had recently introduced a disc plow and other patented improvements to other farm implements.⁶⁵ A *Deseret Evening News* article published in November 1896 stated that the enterprise of Danielson and Merrill, located in Richmond, Utah, had at that time produced "3000 plows, 20 harrows, 25 cultivators, and 100 bobsleds."⁶⁶

The Central States Mission history and the extant correspondence of James G. Duffin and Samuel O. Bennion are silent about the specific initiative in terms of redeeming Zion; and without access to the First Presidency minutes, it is not possible to articulate the Church's unfolding and unannounced plan of returning to Zion. However, the general outline can be deduced from the steps that followed.

By late 1906 or early 1907, a plan was well underway for incorporating the Danielson Plow Company and a solicitation was issued for the subscription of stock. By early March 1907, a "favored" site for a

⁶²Kenney, *Autobiography of E. E. Ericksen*, 35.

⁶³For instance, Wilhelm G. Danielson was in partnership with William Merrill in 1895. Merrill and Danielson, Assessment [property tax] Roll 1895, Richmond, Cache County, Utah, 78, Merrill-Cazier Library; *The History of Richmond, Utah*, 35. Merrill's father was LDS Apostle Marriner W. Merrill.

⁶⁴Journal History, January 21, 1885, 9.

⁶⁵Ibid., August 1, 1885, 6.

⁶⁶*Deseret Evening News* article cited in *The History of Richmond, Utah*, 35; see also Joel E. Ricks and Everett L. Cooley, eds., *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho* (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 223-24.

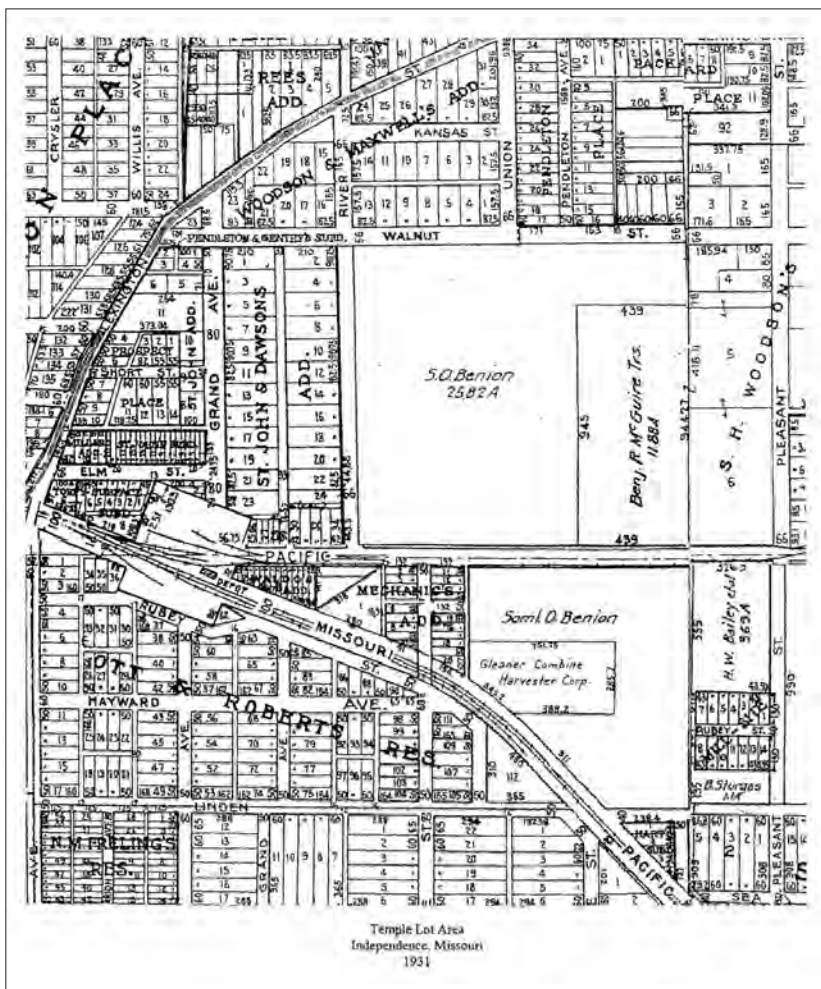
factory in Independence had been selected.⁶⁷ On March 19, 1907, Wilhelm G. Danielsen wired Samuel O. Bennion to accept the seventeen acres of land “even if it costs more than \$12,000.” The telegram has not been located, but Danielsen wrote Bennion the same day: “I have wired you today. To accept the 17 acres of land. Even if it cost more than \$12,000.00.” The letter adds that Danielsen had met with President Joseph F. Smith and his counselors and had “explained the whole situation as to the land in the different places, and after that he [Smith] asked me which piece . . . I favored. . . . I told him that you and myself [sic] favored the 17-acre piece. And he answered and said that ‘it is the place for the factory.’” In reply to a query about start-up costs, Danielsen estimated “about \$40,000 for building and machinery. And \$60,000 for material and labor.”⁶⁸

Between April 7 and late May, 1907, in a complicated five-deed transaction, Bennion acquired the five parcels completing the seventeen-acre purchase.⁶⁹ The *Jackson Examiner* reported on April 26, 1907, that Bennion had announced that the “Danielsen Plow company of Logan, Utah, has contracted for the purchase of 17 acres of ground lying between the main line and Lexington branch of the Mis-

⁶⁷Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, March 19, 1907, Presiding Bishopric General Files (1872–1948), CR 4 6, Reels 143–44; access restricted (hereafter Presiding Bishopric Files), LDS Church History Library; Articles of Incorporation of the Danielsen Plow Company, County of Cache, #6386, State of Utah, May 28, 1907, photocopy of articles in my possession courtesy of Phillip W. Lear, Lear & Lear, L.L.P., Salt Lake City.

⁶⁸Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, March 17, 1907, Presiding Bishopric Files.

⁶⁹Names of sellers and citations available on request. “Deal Is Closed: Danielsen Plow Factory Is Ready to Organize—Deed for 17 Acres Filed,” *Jackson Examiner*, May 31, 1907, 1. After Danielsen Implement Company had been incorporated as a Missouri corporation, Bennion deeded the property he had acquired in his name in May to Danielsen Implement Company on November 15, 1907, 275:353. Interestingly, the amount shown on the recorded deed is \$52,721, a considerably larger sum than the cost of the property acquired only months previous. Probably Bennion had made a personal loan to the company for construction and/or equipment, which the company presumably repaid once it had collected money from the subscribed stockholders. Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, (no month or day) 1907, Presiding Bishopric Files. The letter states: “We have now \$65,000.00.”



1931 map of a portion of southwest Independence showing the LDS Church-owned parcel of 25.82 acres (marked with Samuel O. Bennion's (misspelled) name) and showing a smaller parcel of 17 acres directly south of the large plot. The original 1907 purchase of the smaller parcel included the acreage shown as Gleaner Combine Harvester Corp., which it later bought from the LDS Church together with the factory. Map courtesy of Annette Curtis.

souri Pacific in this city” and that “if the deal goes through without any hitches, the company proposes to erect upon this site a big factory.” The article further quoted Bennion as stating that “the company is being re-incorporated with a capitalization of \$600,000” and that “the plant will probably cost approximately a quarter of a million dollars when fully built.”⁷⁰ This amount is significantly higher than Danielsen’s estimate to Joseph F. Smith. The article also identified Danielsen as president and Bennion as the vice president “and a large stockholder.”

Astutely, the reporter had asked Bennion point-blank “if the plow factory was not being established here largely to furnish employment for adherents of the Utah Mormon faith and to serve as a nucleus for a gathering of those people to this city.” Bennion replied: “No. Although the church, as a church, is a heavy stockholder, this is simply a business investment . . . and no particular effort will be made to gather our people to this place.”⁷¹

Bennion’s disingenuous statement that “no particular effort” would be made to bring LDS Church members to Independence was immediately questioned by John R. Haldeman, editor of the Church of Christ (Temple Lot)’s monthly newspaper. In its June 1907 issue, the editor described the LDS Church’s purchase of land “immediately south of the 63 acres purchased in 1832 [1831] by Edward Partridge,” then expressed open skepticism about LDS motives:

S. O. Bennion, president of the Utah mission for this district, is an officer of the new company, and it is evidently a concern controlled by members of his church. The location of this enterprise is sure to attract to this place members of the Utah organization, many of whom will, no doubt, find employment with this concern. . . . While Utah church officials do not admit that there is a organized movement toward bringing their people to Independence, yet actions sometimes speak louder than words. Independence people need not feel surprised to wake up some fine morning to a realization of the fact that our Western friends

⁷⁰“Plan Big Plow Factory,” *Jackson Examiner*, April 26, 1907, 1.

⁷¹*Ibid.* See also “Utah Concern Locates in Independence,” *Evening and Morning Star* 8, no. 2 (June 1907): 4. This newspaper was published by the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) from May 1900 until late 1916. It should not be confused with the original *Evening and Morning Star*, published in Independence, 1832–33, and Kirtland, 1834.

are quite a factor in the affairs of our little city.⁷²

CONSTRUCTION AND DEDICATION OF THE PLOW FACTORY

On June 21, 1907, the *Jackson Examiner* reported that Danielson's two-story factory measuring 80x200 feet would be built "immediately" and that Danielson had moved his family to Independence.⁷³ Six days later on June 27, perhaps inadvertently the anniversary of Joseph Smith's assassination, the groundbreaking ceremony was held for the factory: "A large company, including the mayor, several members of the city council, and a number of leading businessmen, and also a number of ladies, assembled on the site of the building. Samuel O. Bennion . . . acted as master of ceremonies. Benjamin F. Cummings [editor of the *Liahona*] offered prayer, invoking the divine blessing upon the town of Independence and all of its inhabitants, and upon the enterprise there being founded." Speakers included Danielson, Bennion, James Allen Prewitt, the mayor of Independence, and several other local businessmen. Joseph Smith III, the final speaker, extended a "heartly welcome" to this enterprise and "hoped that [it] may become an imperishable monument to its founders." Danielson then broke ground by plowing "a furrow several rods long, on the line of the south foundation."⁷⁴

Joseph Smith III's participation in this celebration—and particularly as the concluding speaker—was noteworthy. The RLDS Church had been actively engaged in its own redemption of Zion for thirty years. While LDS missionary activity had been ongoing for several years in the greater Kansas City area, the growth of the LDS Church had been slow. Therefore, President Smith's willing participation as the concluding speaker, was significant. The RLDS Church had consistently and aggressively attacked the LDS practice of plural marriage; but by 1907, the Second Manifesto of Joseph F. Smith and the conclusion of the U.S. Senate hearings on whether Apostle Reed

⁷²John R. Haldeman, "Utah Concern Locates in Independence," *Evening and Morning Star* 8, no. 2 (June 1907): 4.

⁷³"Two Stories, 80 by 200: Danielson Plow Company to Begin Work at Once on a Big Factory," *Jackson Examiner*, June 21, 1907, 1.

⁷⁴"For the Plow Factory, Ceremonies Tomorrow for Breaking Ground for the Building," *Independence Examiner*, June 26, 1907: 1; "Welcomed to Independence," *Liahona* 5, no. 3 (July 6, 1907): 57–59; "Mormons Welcomed Back," *Kansas City Star*, June 28, 1907, 1.



The Danielsen Implement Company building under construction in the summer of 1907. Photo courtesy of Bill Curtis.

Smoot could hold his Senate seat had closed that chapter. The invitation to Joseph Smith III represented an olive branch extended by the LDS Church; and Joseph III's willing and cordial participation also seemed to signal a more tolerant relationship between these two churches of the Restoration.

Although construction was slower than planned, the factory was ready to open by the end of December 1907.⁷⁵ On January 1, 1908, the Danielsen Implement Company⁷⁶ hosted a New Year's Day celebration at the factory. A crowd of "three hundred men and

⁷⁵"Dedication Celebration," *Independence Examiner*, December 31, 1907, 1.

⁷⁶Danielsen Implement Company was organized in October 1907 as a Missouri corporation. Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Danielsen Implement Company, Articles of Incorporation, No. 59,714, October 26,



The west exterior of the Danielsen Implement Company factory. Photo courtesy of R. Jean Addams, June 2010.

women” were present. Mayor Prewitt “called the meeting to order and presided throughout the program.” Dignitaries from Independence and Kansas City attended; many gave speeches. Again, Benjamin F. Cummings “made the invocation” and “President Joseph Smith of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints made an address especially appropriate to the occasion” that “was received with approval by the audience.”⁷⁷

1907, 279:2. Sometimes “Articles of Incorporation” were filed in local county property records after receiving state notification certifying and issuing the incorporation papers. Both names (Danielsen Plow Company and Danielsen Implement Company) were used interchangeably in letters, documents, and newspaper reports. However, Danielsen Plow Company was organized in May 1907 as a Utah corporation, while Danielsen Implement Company, as noted, was a Missouri corporation.

⁷⁷“Ready to Make Plows,” *Jackson Examiner*, January 3, 1908, 2;

FUNDING AND OPERATIONAL DIFFICULTIES

Despite this optimistic beginning, operational, sales, and cash-flow issues became major concerns of the fledgling company. Furthermore, notwithstanding Bennion's June 1907 statement to the press, the LDS Church became heavily involved in the operation of this factory far from Salt Lake City as indicated by the constant flow of correspondence on Central States Mission and Presiding Bishopric letterhead stationery dealing with factory matters.⁷⁸ On October 23, 1908, Anthon H. Lund, a counselor in the LDS First Presidency noted: "Met with O[rrin] P. Miller and S[amuel] O. Bennion who asked counsel in regards to issuing bonds on the Danielsen Plow factory. We advised them to do so."⁷⁹ In November 1908, Joseph A. McRae, the outgoing president of the LDS Western States Mission headquartered in Denver, was hired as the company's primary traveling salesperson.⁸⁰

On January 12, 1909, the LDS Church increased its role in managing the Danielsen Plow Company with the election of thirty-eight-year-old Apostle George Albert Smith to the Board of Directors.⁸¹ A week later, Lund noted a "long conversation with Bro. Danielsen and

"Danielsen Plow Factory Opens: Institution for Manufacture of Implements Commences Operations at Independence—Welcomed by Mayor of City," *Deseret Evening News*, January 2, 1908; "Implement Factory Celebration," *Liahona* 5, no. 30 (January 11, 1908): 801–5.

⁷⁸See, e.g., Orrin P. Miller, Letter to Charles H. Hart, November 22, 1907, Presiding Bishopric Files; Samuel O. Bennion, Letter to President Joseph F. Smith and Counselors, April 30, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files.

⁷⁹John P. Hatch, ed., *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006), 387. Orrin Porter Miller (1858–1918) was a counselor in the LDS Presiding Bishopric from 1901 until his death. He served as second counselor to Bishop William B. Preston and then as first counselor to Bishop Charles W. Nibley. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orrin_P._Miller (accessed November 22, 2010).

⁸⁰"Change of Mission Presidents," *Liahona* 6, no. 23 (November 21, 1908): 542.

⁸¹Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, Danielsen Plow Company, January 12, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files; George Albert Smith, Diary, January 15, 1909, 16, George Albert Smith Papers, MS 36, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. On January 16, "spent the day in meeting with the Danielsen Plow Co trying to formulate a policy that will

some of the directors of the company.” Significantly, “we agreed to guarantee \$20,000 to help them keep going.”⁸²

The next day, January 20, George Albert Smith advised Bennion in Independence that, as a condition of the loan guarantee of \$20,000 with Zion’s Savings Bank and Trust Company, the company “voted to issue four hundred shares of preferred stock” to the Church and “we have engaged Samuel Peterson[,] an old wagon and machine man here, to take charge of the Western end of our business and organize it.”⁸³ In closing his letter, Smith pointedly reminded Bennion: “As a member of the executive committee, I depend on you to keep close track of that end of the Danielson [sic] Plow business and report to me in a personal way anything that you feel needs attention.”⁸⁴

Apparently, Salt Lake General Authorities had developed misgivings about Danielson’s role as president, even though the business had been in operation for only a year. Furthermore, it was obvious that Bennion’s responsibilities in Independence included acting as the Church’s agent where the company was concerned. In fact, later that same day, Smith again wrote Bennion, articulating increasing concerns: “Bishop Miller and I had a meeting with Mr. [Samuel] Peterson, [the Danielson Plow Company’s manager in Salt Lake City] and from his showing we concluded that it will be well not to do anything towards increasing the force employed at the factory or buying of any more material for manufacture until further investigation is made of the business at this end.”⁸⁵

Before the month’s end, Apostle Smith visited Independence where he inspected the factory and its operation first-hand and also

make the factory a success.” George Albert Smith, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, January 18, 1909, Marriott Library, hereafter George Albert Smith Papers. Smith served as LDS Church President 1945–51.

⁸²Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 393.

⁸³George Albert Smith, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, January 20, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵George Albert Smith, [Second] Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, January 20, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers. Peterson was hired by George Albert Smith because of his manufacturing background and experience. He was the primary liaison with the Danielson Implement Company in Independence and was the primary outlet for the goods being manufactured in Missouri. It is apparent from the extant correspondence that Peterson and



The interior of the Daniels Implement Company, showing the manufacturing floor and a row of windows running above the steel bays and below the roof. The windows are original to the 1907 construction and provided as much natural light as possible. Photo courtesy of R. Jean Addams, June 2010.

reviewed Zion's Printing and Publishing Company and the Central States Mission.⁸⁶ Francis M. Gibbons's biography of George Albert Smith mistakenly claims that Smith "had become interested in the Danielson [sic] Plow Company as a means of supplementing his income" and made the trip to Independence "to 'try to figure out how to make the plow business go.'"⁸⁷ Smith was indeed concerned about making the business "go," but his membership on the Daniels Plow

Danielsen did not have a harmonious relationship.

⁸⁶George Albert Smith, *Diary*, January 15, 1909, 22–24. Smith began his visit on January 30, 1909, and left Independence for Chicago and Milwaukee on February 4, 1909, where he visited the offices of the International Harvester Company and the Racine and Satley Company, both manufacturers of farm implements.

⁸⁷Francis M. Gibbons, *George Albert Smith: Kind and Caring Christian, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, rpt. 2009), 59.

Company Board of Directors was a specific assignment from the First Presidency, not a personal “money-making” opportunity. As evidence of Smith’s doubts about the company’s viability, he never bought stock.

Whatever George Albert Smith concluded as a result of his visit, barely a month later, on March 2, Danielsen wrote Smith directly about the company’s financial plight:

In the directors metting [sic] it was agreed that we should pay the bank the \$10,000.00 on the land and the [\$]4,000.00 we owed the bank also the interest on the same. By doing this it has left us but very little of the \$15,000.00 that we received and today we have an overdraft in the bank. I wrote Bro. Miller a short time ago telling him that we must have some money by the first of March to, at least, pay our freight bills on some of the material that has begun to arrive that I was authorized to order. I trust that you will be able to send us some money by return mail.⁸⁸

On March 6, 1909, Smith wrote Danielsen that he had asked Samuel Peterson to send \$2,500 “to relieve your temporary embarrassment.”⁸⁹ While Smith was covering this cash shortfall, Bishop Orrin P. Miller received a letter dated March 12, 1909, from Thatcher Brothers Banking Company of Logan, Utah, demanding payment on a \$3,000 note that Danielsen Plow Company had taken out in 1908.⁹⁰ Whether Smith (or Miller) was aware of this outstanding obligation is unclear. While no documentation has been located that this obligation was paid, it most assuredly was as the LDS Church was very concerned about its reputation as evidenced by the continual amounts of money that were sent on short notice to pay the obligation of the Danielsen Implement Company.

On March 16, probably two days after the Thatcher bank letter

⁸⁸Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Letter to George A. Smith, March 2, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

⁸⁹George A. Smith, Letter to Wilhelm G. Danielsen, March 6, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

⁹⁰H[ezeiah] E. Hatch, Letter to Bishop Orrin P. Miller, March 12, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files. Hatch, who signs as “Cashier,” was also a stockholder in Danielsen Plow Company. Articles of Incorporation of the Danielsen Plow Company, May 28, 1907, #6386, Secretary of State, Salt Lake City.

arrived, Apostle Smith sent Danielsen a seven-page letter warning, "We must proceed very carefully from now on" and then instructed: "We want to look this business squarely in the face. We feel first that we must not manufacture more plows than we can dispose of within a reasonable time. . . . We are compelled to leave the matter of manufacturing to you and we hope that you will use the very best judgment at your end of the line, [in] reducing the cost of manufacture to the lowest possible notch, and getting all the work you can out of the men you employ."⁹¹

Smith continued by significantly reducing the proposed production and sales figures on the types of equipment that Danielsen was set up to manufacture. For example, Danielsen had estimated 200 "sulkies" and Smith reduced this number to 150. Danielsen had projected producing 300 double disc plows and was told "150 is all that we can possibly handle." After redoing the 1909 manufacturing projections, he then issued a startling directive, considering that the business had been in operation for only fourteen months:

Manufacture all the goods that you think we can sell out of the material that you have on hand and then close the factory [meaning, suspend operations temporarily].

When we sell all the goods that we have manufactured we will have money enough on hand to buy some material and will open up and make another run.

After you are through manufacturing . . . go out yourself on the road and see what you can do towards opening up that territory at that end of the line. It is true you are president and manager, but if we don't open up some territory, you will have nothing to manage, which of course, would be nothing but a calamity to us all.⁹²

In concluding his lengthy letter, Smith noted: "Now we realize you are in a strange land among a strange people, and it changes the appearance of things a great deal." But he followed this understanding statement by hammering home his points of concern again. The

⁹¹George A. Smith, Letter to Wilhelm G. Danielsen, March 16, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

⁹²*Ibid.* This letter continues: "Now Brother Danielsen, let us try to keep close check of everything. If that car [a recent railroad car shipment from Independence to Salt Lake City] is any indication of the way our business is being run, then it is entirely too careless and we can't afford to continue along that line."

bottom line was: "We don't want to borrow any more money." He finished by offering a little hope: "We are today sending letters to prominent men who have large farming interests."⁹³

These letters were an obvious effort to stimulate the dragging plow sales. One of them went to Mark Austin, in Sugar City, Idaho, then a member of the Fremont Stake presidency and general superintendent of the Utah-Idaho Sugar factory there: "As you are doubtless aware," the letter began, "we [the LDS Church] are quite heavily interested as a people in the Danielson Implement Company located at Independence." Smith then encouraged Austin's participation by appealing to the redemption of Zion concept.

Brother Austin, we feel that you can help us a very great deal in introducing our plows and recommending them to people who will be in need of such implements. While it is not exactly in the line of missionary work, still we feel that anything we can do to build up the Danielson [sic] Plow Company will assist in building up the center stake of Zion. There is a great deal of sentiment attached to it, and to a certain extent our reputation is at stake.

We have the interest of the cause at heart and believe that in this particular matter anything we can do to build up the Danielson Plow business will be a step in the right direction. While we may not receive any remuneration, we will at least establish a good industry at Independence, Missouri, where we hope some day to build a temple to the glory of our father in Heaven.

Anything that you can do to assist us will be more than appreciated. We are sure that you will feel compensated in knowing that you are helping to establish a department of the work in Jackson County in build[ing] up the waste places of Zion, and establishing the gospel on the earth.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, Apostle Smith became seriously ill soon thereafter and was forced to shed many responsibilities in an effort to regain his health.⁹⁵ It is only speculation, of course, but one can certainly imagine the benefits that might have come to the Danielson Plow Company had he been able to continue his scrutiny and active in-

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴George Albert Smith, Letter to President Mark Austin, Sugar City, Idaho, March 17, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers. Austin became Fremont Stake president in 1910.

⁹⁵Mary Jane Woodger, "Cheat the Asylum of a Victim: George Albert Smith's 1909-12 Breakdown," *Journal of Mormon History* 34, no. 4 (Fall

volve in its management.

By late April 1909, painfully aware of Smith's departure from the management scene, Samuel O. Bennion wrote a lengthy letter to the First Presidency, asking them to select someone to replace George Albert Smith. "As the Board of Directors now stand, Manager [Samuel] Peterson has no one to go to but Bishop Miller . . . and we really need an active business man." Bennion further boldly suggested Heber J. Grant or Anthony W. Ivins as candidates to "be placed on the Board of Directors immediately" as "a means of relieving the company from its present conditions."⁹⁶ Bennion's nominees were both apostles with considerable experience and acumen as successful businessmen. Grant had owned the H. R. Mann and Company, Utah Territory's first insurance company, before age twenty-five when he was called as an apostle. "Believing it his personal ministry to preserve Mormon commercial influence" and with considerable entrepreneurial ability, he was "owner or principal investor in the territory's leading agricultural implement concern, two insurance companies, a livery stable, a leading Salt Lake City newspaper, a bank . . . and the Utah Sugar Company."⁹⁷ Ivins "had been a prosperous rancher in Saint George, Utah, where he was manager of the Mojave Land and Cattle Company and co-owner of the Kaibab Cattle Company. In Salt Lake City he served as vice-president of Utah State Bank, Zion's Savings Bank and Trust Company, and ZCMI" among other business ventures.⁹⁸

While the First Presidency deliberated, financial matters worsened in May and June. On June 24, 1909, Danielsen met with the First Presidency, pleading that he "must have help or his institution will go

2008): 113–52; Samuel O. Bennion, Letter to Joseph F. Smith and Counselors, April 30, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files.

⁹⁶Samuel O. Bennion, Letter to Joseph F. Smith and Counselors, April 30, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files.

⁹⁷Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "Grant, Heber," *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), hereafter cited as *A Book of Mormons*, www.signaturebookslibrary.org/Mormons/heber_grant.htm (accessed February 15, 2011); Ronald Walker, "Heber J. Grant," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, www.media.utah.edu/UHE/g/GRANT, HEBER.html (accessed February 15, 2011).

⁹⁸"Ivins, Anthony," in *ibid.*, www.signaturebookslibrary.org/Mormons/anthony_ivins.htm (accessed February 15, 2011).

down which would indeed be a calamity.”⁹⁹

THE LDS CHURCH'S ACTIVE MANAGEMENT

Soon thereafter, Joseph F. Smith chose Apostle Anthony W. Ivins to replace George Albert Smith on the board of directors. Among Ivins's other qualifications, he had actually visited the factory in Independence a year earlier in 1908. After visiting mission headquarters in the morning of July 27,

... in the p.m. we drove around the town, looked at proposed site for church and visited Danielson Implement Co. factory.

The factory is well equipped and is turning out a good quality of plows but is short of funds to carry on the work. They need \$50000.00 to make the enterprise a success. Bro [John Henry] Smith and I wired, or rather had Bro Danielson wire Bishop [Orrin P.] Miller at Salt Lake that he must have ten thousand dollars this week to meet pressing demands. If this money is not furnished the factory will be obliged to close down.¹⁰⁰

On July 28, 1909, Bishop Miller wrote to Apostle Smith, then recuperating in Ocean Park, California, confirmed Ivins's election to the board, and added that “it was decided Brother Danielson should be retired from acting as President of the Company and Anthony W. Ivins was made President. Samuel O. Bennion then resigned as Vice-President and Wilhelm G. Danielson was made Vice-President.”¹⁰¹ Miller also noted:

⁹⁹Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 434. In the entry for June 24, 1909, Hatch has mistakenly transcribed this meeting as between “Brother [Vernon J.] Danielson” instead of “Wilhelm G.” At this time, Vernon, Wilhelm's son, was twenty-three and a salesman for Danielson Implement Company. He was called on a mission to Europe in December 1909 and was absent for the next three years. It seems unlikely that his father would have sent his son on such a critically important errand. Furthermore, Bennion would almost certainly have insisted that Wilhelm attend to the matter personally, given the financial implications of a successful visit to Church authorities.

¹⁰⁰Anthony W. Ivins, Diary, July 27, 1908, MSS B2, Box 3, fd. 9, Anthony W. Ivins Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (hereafter Ivins Papers). Ivins also reported on his visit in a letter to President Joseph F. Smith and Counselors, August 10, 1908, MSS B2, Box 10, fd. 2, Ivins Papers. My thanks to Elizabeth Ann Anderson for the Ivins sources.

¹⁰¹Orrin P. Miller, Letter to George Albert Smith (Ocean Park, Cali-

Brother Danielsen made the proposition to us that he would retire or turn over to [the] treasury \$18,000 worth of his stock and Brother Samuel Peterson would take \$5,000 in stock with the understanding that the First Presidency take stock for the full amount of our indebtedness to them. We waited on the First Presidency and submitted this proposition to them and it was accepted, and the transfer of stock was made, they giving us a check for the \$40,000 and we turning over to them \$40,000 worth of capital stock.

We have also authorized the executive committee to sell \$100,000 worth of stock and to issue a new prospectus covering the points mentioned above. With these changes we are lead [sic] to believe that we can get on our feet, and probably by January 1st, 1910, pay a dividend to the stock-holders and thus put the business in a shape that people will have confidence in the same.¹⁰²

However, financial matters did not improve as Bishop Miller had hoped. Sales were slow, and Danielsen continued to invent rather than manage or sell. Bennion wrote Miller in December 1909 that "Danielsen has had a new mold-board attachment to the disc plows patented."¹⁰³ Apparently Danielsen did not remember, or disregarded, Apostle Smith's directive, only nine months earlier, to immediately start canvassing the Midwest for sales.

The next month, Ivins commented in his diary on January 8, 1910: "I met the Presidency at their office and discussed the affairs of the Danielson Plow Co. It was decided that the company issue bonds which the T. in T. [Church Trustee in Trust] would take up and furnish money to carry on the work at the factory for the time being. For immediate use I am to borrow ten thousand dollars from Zions S.B. & T. [Savings Bank and Trust] Co. for which the T. in T. will be responsible."¹⁰⁴ This amount was increased by the board of directors to \$20,000.¹⁰⁵ At this point, the Church had invested at least \$35,000 outright in Danielsen Plow and loaned or guaranteed to other financial institutions an additional \$10,000 (estimate), covering emergency after emergency.

fornia), July 28, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Samuel O. Bennion, Letter to Orrin P. Miller, December 30, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹⁰⁴Ivins, Diary, January 8, 1910, Ivins Papers, MSS B2, Box 3, fd. 13.

¹⁰⁵Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, January 12, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files.

Although the company's books have not survived and it is, therefore, not possible to say how much the company was bringing in to offset these heavy demands, the business was obviously falling short of producing the steady, reliable income that had encouraged LDS Church leaders at the company's launching. Initially the LDS Church had invested \$15,000 in the new enterprise.¹⁰⁶ This was done in the name of Joseph F. Smith as Trustee-in-Trust. Throughout 1908 and 1909 the LDS Church, probably through the Presiding Bishop's Office (Orrin P. Miller, counselor in the Presiding Bishopric, was an initial stockholder—but as an individual), had continued to loan more money as needed. In July 1909, the board again authorized that preferred stock be issued to the LDS Church to offset more accumulated loans. This time the amount was \$40,000.¹⁰⁷ Certainly as the year 1909 came to an end, the LDS Church had invested \$75,000 and had loaned at least \$3,500 more.¹⁰⁸

The years 1910 and 1911 continued to see serious challenges. In June 1910, Samuel Peterson wrote Bishop Miller that he had just received a telegram from Independence asking for more funds: "As President Ivins is out of town, I think you had better get the other ten thousand appropriated and send Danielsen three or four thousand."¹⁰⁹ On October 25, 1910, Anthon H. Lund noted: "We had Independence factory business presented to us. Brother [Apostle] John Henry Smith thought we should assess the shares for the purpose of raising needed money. I said that the people who have subscribed have done so by solicitation and being told it was the church who was building up Jackson County and to assess them would not sit well on

¹⁰⁶Ledger card, June 27, 1907, Presiding Bishopric Files. This card is unsigned. It lists the initial seven stockholders and the number of shares each had pledged. Jesse Knight is shown as holding fifty shares. At this time, a total of 228 shares had been issued.

¹⁰⁷Orrin P. Miller, Letter to George Albert Smith, St. George, Utah, July 28, 1909, George Albert Smith Papers.

¹⁰⁸Samuel Peterson, Letter to Danielsen Implement Company (Independence), August 15, 1909, Presiding Bishopric Files; Samuel Peterson, Letter to Wilhelm G. Danielsen (Independence), September 20, 1909. Samuel Peterson, Letter to Danielsen Implement Company (Independence), Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹⁰⁹Samuel Peterson, Letter to Bishop Orrin P. Miller, June 17, 1910, Presiding Bishopric Files.

them, and as we would have to pay more than half any way[,] I think we should keep it going. The President [Joseph F. Smith] feels that Bro[.] Danielson [sic] is not the man to manage the business.”¹¹⁰

About six weeks later in November 1910, Peterson told Ivins that he had an offer from some interested party in buying “controlling interest in the company . . . for \$512,000.”¹¹¹ For unknown reasons, this very attractive proposal did not materialize.¹¹²

The patience of the Church leaders was, in any case, very nearly exhausted. Apostle John Henry Smith (father of George Albert Smith and a counselor to LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith) visited the plow company on December 1, 1910, and “had a long talk with Samuel Peterson and Bro. Danielson over the financial condition of the Business.” The theme of the meeting was exactly the same that it had been for the previous three years: “More Money has got to be had or the business will go under.”¹¹³

In early 1911, George W. Van Dran filed a suit against Danielsens Implement for unknown reasons. The case, tried before a jury in the Jackson County Circuit Civil Court, assessed Van Dran’s “damages at Fifteen Hundred Dollars” on March 17, 1911. Danielsens Implement Company paid the damages on August 17, 1911.¹¹⁴

By November 1911 the situation between LDS Church officials/the board of directors of Danielsens Plow Company and Wilhelm G. Danielsens/Danielsens Implement Company had reached a serious crossroads. A board of directors’ meeting was scheduled in Salt Lake City to discuss the overall situation. In anticipation of the meeting,

¹¹⁰Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 442. This entry repeats Hatch’s error of misidentifying “Wilhelm G.” as “Vernon J.” Vernon was, at this time, a missionary in Europe.

¹¹¹Samuel Peterson, Letter to Anthony W. Ivins, November 22, 1910, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹¹²I have been unable to locate any further information on this potential sale. It seems likely, however, that this offer may not have been a serious one; if it was, there were probably many misgivings about it.

¹¹³Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 661.

¹¹⁴*George W. Van Dran, Plaintiff vs. Danielsens Implement Company, Defendant*, Jackson County [Missouri] Circuit Civil Court, Case No. 23536, Order of the Court, March 17, 1911, 28:483. The cause of Van Dran’s complaint is unknown.

and in a final attempt to address his concerns and grievances with the direction (or lack of) coming from Salt Lake City, Danielsen wrote a lengthy letter to Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley. First he advised Nibley that he would be unable to attend the upcoming meeting. Next he devoted several typewritten pages to a description of his perspective on the state of affairs and how, in his opinion, they got that way. It is apparent from reading the letter that he felt underappreciated, complained that the company had never been adequately capitalized (he was right on this point), and sharply disagreed with the decision to suspend operations at the factory—which was then the situation.¹¹⁵

For their part, the board of directors concluded that they could not continue to fund the Independence factory, regardless of Danielsen's pleas. On December 5, 1911, Nibley wrote to Danielsen, acknowledged his recent letters (others written in late November are apparently no longer extant), and then stated: "It is impossible for us to raise more money to run that business down there. If, however, you can get any backing from any quarter that will enable you to purchase that end of the business which is in Missouri, we would be very glad to dispose of it either by sale or by lease as may be later agreed on."¹¹⁶

Then matters become hazy. An unidentified person wrote an informal letter to Samuel Peterson in Salt Lake City on January 2, 1912, describing a factory that was not merely nonoperational but in the process of being dismantled: "Everything is O. K. down here. . . . Uncle Zach wrote you last Friday that most of the tools in the factory had gone. . . . Uncle Zach only stays at the factory at night now unless [he] opens the factory for me and then goes home. There is not much news to report. We have about \$1,639.47 in the bank now."¹¹⁷

In April 1912, another letter to Peterson from an unidentified correspondent—probably the same person and written on Danielsen Implement letterhead—reported the increasingly dismal state of affairs:

¹¹⁵Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Letter to Charles W. Nibley, November 2, 1911, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹¹⁶Charles W. Nibley, Letter to Wilhelm G. Danielsen, December 5, 1911, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹¹⁷Unidentified writer, Letter to Samuel Peterson, January 2, 1912, Presiding Bishopric Files. I have not been able to identify this writer or "Uncle Zach."

Inclosed [sic] you will find [the] monthly report or balance for March. [I] am a little late getting it out but have had some trouble with it and then have been quite busy up to the Liahona. I suppose you know from what you said to me as to what I am doing.

[I] have seen nothing of Mr. Danielsen since you left. Verne is quite friendly. They don't like the way I do with the letters but we turn in all the orders, inquiries, etc. we get and will turn in the bills if he says so.

Anything that you would like me to do hereafter will be gratis to the company, so kindly write me what I am to do now. [I] will not turn in my P.O. key until I here [sic] from you.¹¹⁸

From this letter, and the previous one, it appears that the factory had been closed and that the only remaining business was selling on-hand inventory, ordering key replacement parts for the Salt Lake City office, and paying the utility and security bills. On January 13, 1913, the Church Auditing Committee requested a report from Danielsen Plow Company of "your company's business for the year 1912," due at "the Presiding Bishop's Office not later than February 1st."¹¹⁹ Unless the Church Auditing Committee was completely uninformed about the Danielsen Plow Company/Danielsen Implement Company situation, this request for an audit in only two and a half weeks was unreasonable, especially given the distance to Independence and its operating status. I have been unable to locate any additional information, such as the results of this audit or even the company's request for an extension.

DANIELSEN'S LAWSUIT

What was happening behind the scenes in Independence in the second half of 1912 does not appear in any of the extant documents in the Presiding Bishopric Files, although private correspondence may supply additional details. The next logical step would have been selling the factory. However, on May 10, 1913, Wilhelm G. Danielsen and Verne (sometimes Vernon) Danielsen, his oldest son, filed a suit in the Circuit Court of Independence naming Danielsen Implement Company, Danielsen Plow Company, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day [sic] Saints, Samuel O. Bennion, Joseph McRae, Richard B. Sum-

¹¹⁸Unidentified writer, Letter to Samuel Peterson, April 9, 1912, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹¹⁹Church Auditing Committee, Letter to [Danielsen Plow Company], January 12, 1913, Presiding Bishopric Files.

merhays (superintendent of Zion's Printing and Publishing), and others as defendants.¹²⁰ The plaintiffs sought to recover \$60,000 worth of stock in the Danielsen Implement Company and claimed "that through coercion on the part of the officers of the church he [Wilhelm G. Danielsen] was compelled to give his stock to the Mormon Church."¹²¹ Interestingly, the attorney representing the Danielsens was the former mayor of Independence, James Allen Prewitt, who had spoken at the factory's 1908 dedication.¹²²

Bennion had heard rumors about the Danielsens' plans before the suit was filed and immediately advised Church authorities to that effect. On March 21, 1913, Charles W. Nibley, presiding bishop, telegraphed him to "get additional attorney if you think necessary. Keep us posted."¹²³ An unsigned letter written a month later, presumably from Nibley, told Bennion:

¹²⁰*Wilhelm G. Danielsen and Verne Danielsen, Plaintiffs, vs. Danielsen Implement Company, Danielsen Plow Company, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day [sic] Saints, Samuel O. Bennion, Joseph A. McRae, R[ichard] B. Summerhays, Defendants*, Jackson County [Missouri] Circuit Civil Court, Case No. 27524, Notice of Suit, May 10, 1913, 317:452 (hereafter *Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement et al.*) At later stages of the case, additional defendants were added. By the time the verdict was announced, the list of defendants, some of them named in multiple roles, included Danielsen Implement Company, Danielsen Plow Company, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day [sic] Saints, Joseph F. Smith, Joseph F. Smith as Trustee in Trust for Church of Jesus Christ [of] Latter Day Saints, a voluntary Religious Organization, C[hables] W. Nibley, C[hables] W. Nibley, President, C[hables] W. Nibley, Bishop, Samuel O. Bennion, Samuel O. Bennion, President, Samuel O. Bennion, Trustee, Joseph A. McRae, R[ichard] B. Summerhays, Arthur Winter, Arthur Winter, secretary, Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund[,] and John Henry Smith, designated as First Presidency, Thomas E. Towler, Thomas E. Towler, Secretary, Charles H. Hart, and H[ezekiah] E. Hatch. Hart was a member of the Board of Directors and Hatch was treasurer. Jesse Knight, although an original investor and member of the Board of Directors, was not named in the suit.

¹²¹"Church Wins Suit in East," *Herald-Republican*, June 12, 1915, in *Journal History*, June 11, 1915, 8.

¹²²*Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement Company et al.* The document is signed: "J. Allen Prewitt, attorney for the Plaintiffs"; "Ready to Make Plows," *Jackson Examiner*, January 3, 1908, 2.

¹²³Charles W. Nibley, Telegram to Samuel O. Bennion, March 21,

I quite agree with you that it is better for us to keep the land there than to sell it at present. . . . However, if we had a good chance to sell the building with the two acres of land I think it might pay us to do it. We ought to get \$30,000.00 for the two acres of ground and the buildings thereon but it might pay us to dispose of it for \$25,000.00 if we could get that figure. This of course does not include machinery, etc. . . . We sent you several days ago papers to transfer the property down there to Joseph F. Smith which has [sic] not yet been executed and returned.¹²⁴

On May 12, 1913, a member of the Presiding Bishopric (either Nibley or Miller) asked Bennion to refinance the factory land, commenting, "If this were done, it would put us in a better position in fighting the case as well as help out in money matters. . . . Please see the bank at once . . . borrow the money, give the mortgage and note, and send us the draft for the amount."¹²⁵ Additional correspondence confirmed that attorney Allen Southern, a well-known attorney in Independence and Kansas City, "will handle the case for the church in Independence."¹²⁶ Sometime later the Church sent Judge Charles H. Hart, an original investor and an officer in Danielsens

1913, Presiding Bishopric Files.

¹²⁴Charles W. Nibley (presumably, the extant letter is a carbon copy, with no signature or other indication of its authorship), Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, April 23, 1913, Presiding Bishopric Files; Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Danielsens Implement Co., Deed by A. B. Summerhays, President, to Joseph F. Smith and Charles W. Nibley, June 25, 1918, 361:399-401, Independence. For reasons unknown, the transfer of property to the LDS Church (through the President and Presiding Bishop) did not take place in 1913 as directed. The initial hesitancy may have been the pending lawsuit. The deed transferring the property was not recorded (again, for reasons unknown) until 1918, nearly three years after the conclusion of the lawsuit in 1915.

¹²⁵Presiding Bishopric, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, April 23, 1913, Presiding Bishopric Files. I assume that the letter was from the Presiding Bishopric because, although it is unsigned, it was written on the Presiding Bishopric's stationery.

¹²⁶Presiding Bishopric, Letter to Samuel O. Bennion, May 19, 1913, Presiding Bishopric Files. John N. Southern, an attorney whom the LDS Church had employed years earlier on land acquisitions in the Independence area, had also represented the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) in its litigation with the RLDS Church in the Temple Lot suit. John Southern re-

Plow Company, to assist John N. Southern (who had replaced his son), the local attorney who was handling the suit for the Church. Hart gave an interview to the *Deseret News* describing the Church's position in the litigation:

The stock in question was neither owned nor paid for by plaintiff, but in order to enable him to appropriate private property in which he had not title . . . he proceeded to drag the Church and its leading officers and members into the litigation upon the allegation that this stock, which had once passed through his hands as a trustee, had been obtained from him by undue influence of officers of the Church.

There was in the possession of the defendants a large number of books, letters and documents, all of which supported the defense and many of which were against the theory of plaintiff's case. . . . In one instance the defense had the signature of the plaintiff scores of times contradicting him upon a single point.¹²⁷

Between May 1913 and early 1915, depositions were taken both in Salt Lake City and Independence.¹²⁸ President Lund recorded in his diary on July 11, 1913: "President Joseph F. Smith not in Office today. He does not want to be interrogated by Bro. Danielsen's lawyer. . . . Bro. Ivins, Bp. Miller and Manager Peterson were examined, and I think the Judge [Allen Prewitt, Danielsen's attorney] saw how unreasonable is the charge of Danielson [sic] who has been wasting the money advanced to his factory on his inventions."¹²⁹

Notwithstanding the prolonged litigation, Danielsen Implement Company and the LDS Church continued efforts to sell and/or lease the property and factory in Independence. The *Independence Examiner* reported on June 19, 1914: "The Morris-Blodgett Drop Forge and Tool Company expects to be ready to begin manufacturing about next Monday. This is the company that a few weeks ago took over the plant of the Danielsen Plow Company, near the Missouri Pacific main line station, and has since been engaged in remodeling the plant and adding to it. . . . Most of the machinery used by the late Danielsen

placed his son, Allen, as a result of a government appointment.

¹²⁷Journal History, June 8, 1915, 2. "Judge Hart Back from Missouri: Tells of Danielsen Suit against Church Authorities," *Deseret Evening News*, June 8, 1915, in Journal History.

¹²⁸Ibid.; Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, July 2, 1913, 504-5.

¹²⁹Hatch, *Danish Apostle*, 505.

Plow Company is also retained by the new company.”¹³⁰

Wilhelm G. Danielsen was no doubt as disillusioned by attempting to run a business in conjunction with the LDS Church as its leaders were with his skills as a businessman. At some point after the factory was closed in late 1911, Danielsen began attending RLDS worship services and, on April 28, 1915, was baptized. He was ordained an elder less than five months later on September 12, 1915.¹³¹ He remained an active member of the RLDS Church for the rest of his life. Apparently, he was the only member of his immediate family to be baptized at that time, but in 1921, his twenty-year-old son, Farris, also joined the RLDS Church in Independence.¹³²

The case dragged on. On March 15, 1915, the month before Danielsen’s baptism, the court granted a “continuance.”¹³³ Almost three months later on June 4, 1915, with the parties waiving their right to a jury trial, Judge Kimbrough Stone of the Independence Division of the Circuit Court began hearing the case, which continued for the next four days.¹³⁴ On Tuesday, June 12, Judge Stone “rendered a decision dismissing the plaintiffs’ petition, finding for the defendants and assessing the cost against the plaintiffs.” The *Independence Examiner* summarized that Stone had found that the Church’s alleged coercion to defraud Danielsen out of \$60,000 worth of Danielsen Implement Company stock was “a plain business proposition.”¹³⁵

On the same day, Judge Stone entered a judgment against the Danielsens, allowing the defendants to immediately collect on costs incurred during the trial. Stone ordered “that said Bank of Independ-

¹³⁰“Drop Forged Tools: Morris-Blodgett Company about Ready for Work,” *Jackson Examiner*, June 19, 1914, 1.

¹³¹RLDS Church Membership Records, Register no. 18386, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

¹³²Farris Danielsen was baptized May 25, 1921, in Independence. RLDS Church Membership Records, Register no. A 6658, Community of Christ Library-Archives.

¹³³*Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement et al.*, Stipulation, March 15, 1915, 35:278.

¹³⁴“Judge Hart Back from Missouri.”

¹³⁵“Found against Danielsen: Judge Stone Decides Utah Mormon Church Did Him No Wrong in Management of Plow Factory,” *Independence Examiner*, June 11, 1915, 1; *Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement Company*, Order of the Court, June 11, 1915, 35:502.

ence, pay over the sum of \$7,500.00, with three per cent interest per annum therein from August 6th, 1914, and deliver the three bonds for \$5000.00 each mentioned and described in said stipulation and receipt on file and of record in this cause, to defendant Samuel O. Bennion, President of defendant Danielsen Plow Company.”¹³⁶ Charles H. Hart commented with satisfaction that “the result was as we expected.”¹³⁷

The Danielsens immediately requested a new trial that, on June 30, Judge Stone overruled.¹³⁸ On September 8, 1915, the persistent Wilhelm Danielsen filed an application to appeal to the Missouri Supreme Court, which Judge Stone allowed, giving Danielsen until December 4 to file his “Bill of Exceptions herein.”¹³⁹ Either the Supreme Court ruled against the Danielsens or rejected the appeal. I find the second explanation more likely, given the absence of any subsequent documents or newspaper reports.

However, the legal imbroglio was not over. Sometime prior to July 1, 1916, Danielsen Implement Company sued Wilhelm G. Danielsen and three of his sons for failure to pay for raw material and other inventory acquired on March 30, 1912, for a new company, W. G. Danielsen & Sons.¹⁴⁰ This inventory was no small amount: two hundred tons of pig iron, one hundred thousand pounds of steel, four hundred plow bottoms and plow shares, and numerous other items of partly finished equipment. Twelve promissory notes had been signed, whether in the name of the company or by Wilhelm G. Danielsen as an individual is not known. Each note was for \$700, coming due at three-month intervals over the course of thirty-six months with the to-

¹³⁶*Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement et al.*, Order of the Court, June 11, 1915, 35:507.

¹³⁷Charles H. Hart, quoted in “Danielsen Loses His Suit against Church Officials,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 12, 1915, in *Journal History*, June 11, 1915, 4.

¹³⁸*Danielsen et al. vs. Danielsen Implement*, 35:547.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, Application and Affidavit for an Appeal, September 8, 1915, 35:631.

¹⁴⁰*Danielsen Implement Company, Plaintiff, vs. Wilhelm G. Danielsen, Verne Danielsen, William Danielsen and Earl Danielsen, doing business as W. G. Danielsen & Sons, Defendants, Jackson County [Missouri] Circuit Civil Court, Case No. 27124, Order of the Court, July 1, 1916, 37:125* (hereafter *Danielsen Implement vs. Danielsen et al.*).

tal amounting to \$8,400. When Danielsen Implement filed its suit, it had received only a partial payment of \$523.43 on “note 1.” On July 1, 1916, the court ordered W. G. Danielsen & Sons to pay Danielsen Implement Company \$1,880 plus court costs. Obviously, the Danielsens received a substantial discount, assuming that the Danielsen Implement Company collected on the court-ordered settlement.¹⁴¹

CONCLUSION

Finally, the litigation was concluded. The LDS Church had decided to keep ownership of the land surrounding the factory building. A. B. Summerhays, president of Danielsen Implement Company, sold/transferred its property in Independence on June 25, 1918, to Joseph F. Smith, Charles W. Nibley, and Samuel O. Bennion, as tenants in common, for \$1.00 (of course, this sum was only a legal formality). The recorded legal description of the property specifically excluded that portion of land “heretofore sold and conveyed by said Danielsen Implement Company to Morris-Blodgett Drop Forge and Tool Company.”¹⁴² With the recording of this deed, the saga of the Danielsen Plow Company/Danielsen Implement Company came to its end.

Wilhelm G. Danielsen continued to invent. The U.S. Patent Office granted him at least twenty-four patents beginning with his sulky plow in 1885 and ending with an oil burner patent issued in 1926.¹⁴³ As family members recalled: “Uncle Bill was an inventive genius.”¹⁴⁴ Nephew Ephraim E. Ericksen explained his uncle’s eccentricities tolerantly: “Uncle William . . . dreamed he had been called to start a plow

¹⁴¹*Ibid.* The plaintiff dismissed its first count, and the judge considered counter-claims and set-offs; however, these details are not part of the final court order, nor have I been able to find information about the collection.

¹⁴²Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Danielsen Implement Company, Deed to Joseph F. Smith, Charles W. Nibley, and Samuel O. Bennion, June 25, 1918, 361:399–401.

¹⁴³U.S. Patent Office, Patent #318,358, issued May 19, 1885; Patent #1,569,967, issued January 19, 1926; and twenty-two patents issued between these dates. Additionally, Danielsen was granted at least one patent for a “plough” by the Canadian Intellectual Property Office, #CA 105193, May 14, 1907.

¹⁴⁴Kenney, *Memories and Reflections*, 35.



Headstones of Wilhelm Danielson and Linzy Danielson at the Mound Grove Cemetery in Independence. Photos courtesy of R. Jean Addams, June 2010.

factory in Jackson County preparatory to the return of the Saints. . . . Uncle Bill's dream apparently did not come from Heaven, but from his own head."¹⁴⁵

After the demise of W. G. Danielson and Sons, Danielson made another unsuccessful attempt to start up yet another company in 1917, known as the Danielson Manufacturing Company.¹⁴⁶ Later he found employment with the Gleaner Combine Harvester Company, a successor to the Morris-Blodgett Company. Ironically it was housed in the same factory he had built in 1907. He retired from this company in 1928. Danielson died at home in Independence on March 31, 1931.¹⁴⁷ His funeral service was held at the RLDS Stone Church, and he was buried in the Mound Grove Cemetery in Independence.¹⁴⁸

Danielson's wife Lindsey (or Linzy) passed away on February 8, 1947, at the home of her son George in Independence. Her funeral service was held at the LDS Church's chapel on the corner of Pleasant and Walnut streets. It was constructed in 1912–14,¹⁴⁹ and some members of the Danielson family undoubtedly contributed to the fund-

¹⁴⁵Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *Saints without Halos* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1981), 128.

¹⁴⁶Jackson County, Mo., Property Records, Danielson Manufacturing Company, Articles of Incorporation, No. 113,873, February 26, 1917, 353:412–15.

¹⁴⁷"Wilhelm Danielson Dies," *Independence Examiner*, March 31, 1931, 1.

¹⁴⁸Wilhelm G. Danielson, Mound Grove Cemetery, South Block 4, Lot 102, Space 9, Independence.

¹⁴⁹"Mormon Church Is Ready: The \$25,000 Independence Structure

raising that made it possible. Lindsey was buried next to Wilhelm.¹⁵⁰

The LDS Church still owns the property that Samuel O. Benion bought for Danielsen Implement in 1907, except for the portion sold to Morris-Blodgett in 1914. The building constructed in the summer and fall of 1907 for a plow factory is still in use today as a storage facility. Today, the property is leased to a subsidiary of the Allis-Chalmers Company, the successor to Gleaner.¹⁵¹

While the enterprise did not turn out as planned by either Danielsen or the LDS Church, it did accomplish one objective: It brought at least three and probably more LDS families to Independence. The Danielsen family alone included nine surviving children, significantly increasing the size of the Independence branch in 1907.¹⁵² Other families came to Independence in support of the *Liahona* and Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, and in some instances also became involved in the Danielsen Implement Company just as Danielsen was an initial stockholder in Zion's Printing and Publishing Company.¹⁵³ These families also stayed in the area, directly contributing to the LDS Church's growth.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, the increased LDS missionary effort of the early 1900s produced

to Be Dedicated," *Kansas City Times*, November 21, 1914, 18; "The New Mormon Church: Building a Handsome One to Be Dedicated Sunday," *Independence Examiner*, November 20, 1914, 4; "New Temple Dedicated: President Joseph F. Smith of Salt Lake City, Conducted Simple Ceremony in New Church," *Independence Examiner*, November 23, 1914, 1; "Rival Prophets Friends: Saints and Mormons Mingled at Church Dedication," *Kansas City Times*, November 23, 1914, 5; "Dedication," *Liahona*, December 8, 1914): 376.

¹⁵⁰Linzy Danielsen, Mound Grove Cemetery, South Block 4, Lot 102, Space 6, Independence.

¹⁵¹Alvin R. Dyer, Diary, January 12, 1970, typescript, Gregory A. Prince Collection, Accn 1334, Box 42, fd. 89, Special Collections, Marriott Library. A subsidiary of Allis-Chalmers, The Allis Chalmers Industrial Park, LLC, currently holds title, State of Missouri, File no. 200404012118, Charter #LC00644693, January 28, 2004.

¹⁵²Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 204–8.

¹⁵³"Now a Corporation," *Jackson Examiner*, October 14, 1907, 2.

¹⁵⁴The Richard B. Summerhays family moved to Independence prior to August 1907 when Summerhays was hired to manage Zion's Printing and Publishing Company. He is listed as a defendant in the litigation initiated by

many converts in the greater Independence area.

Although the LDS Church had kept alive the concept of redeeming Zion, it had made no move to establish a presence in Independence until 1907. But at that point, it located the mission headquarters, a printing business, and the Danielsen Plow Company factory within walking distance of the Temple Lot. The hope that the factory would be the cornerstone of a stable business that would employ Latter-day Saints, thus enabling a stronger Mormon presence in the community, was markedly over-optimistic. The factory drained Church financial resources—possibly amounting to as much as \$100,000—over the next seven or eight years. But although a century has passed, its legacy, in terms of marking the beginning of a permanent LDS presence, has endured.

Danielsen in 1913 and, in 1918, appears as the president of Danielsen Implement Company when the property was transferred to Joseph F. Smith et al. The Benjamin F. Cummings family also relocated to Independence in 1907, and Cummings was hired as the editor of the *Liahona*. Both men had been previously employed by the LDS Church-owned Deseret News Press. Curtis and Curtis, *The Missouri Independence Mission*, 7, 127.

TRANSGRESSION IN THE LDS COMMUNITY: THE CASES OF ALBERT CARRINGTON, RICHARD R. LYMAN, AND JOSEPH F. SMITH

Part 3: Joseph F. Smith

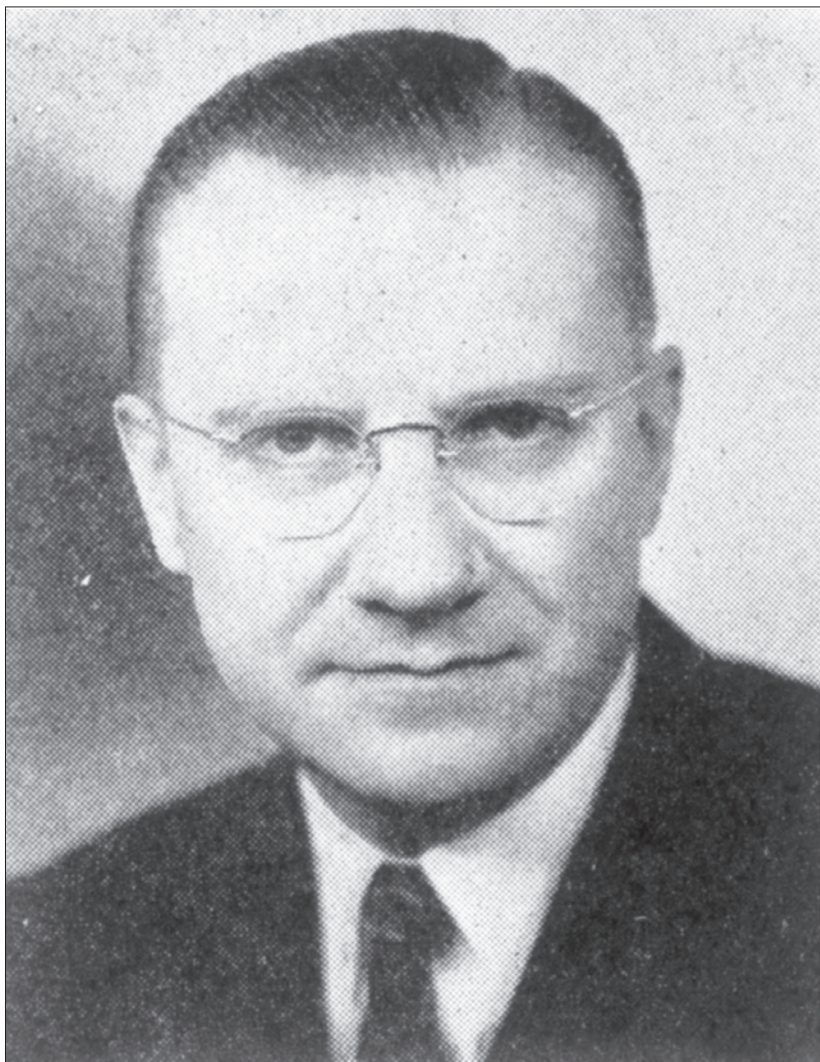
Gary James Bergera

A VACANCY IN THE HIERARCHY

JOSEPH F. SMITH (USUALLY FOLLOWED by “II” or “III” to distinguish him from his grandfather, LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith, as well as from his uncle, Apostle and future Church president Elder Joseph Fielding Smith) was born on January 30, 1899, in Salt Lake City to Hyrum Mack Smith and Ida Elizabeth Bowman Smith. His father served as an LDS apostle from October 1901 until his death in 1918. Joseph was baptized in 1907 and attended school in Salt Lake City and in Liverpool, England, during his father’s tenure

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GARY JAMES BERGERA is managing director of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, Salt Lake City. He appreciates the assistance of Irene M. Bates, James F. Cartwright, Brent Corcoran, Tiffany Lundeen-Frost, Dale C. LeCheminant, William Mulder, Connell O’Donovan, Ardis E. Parshall, D. Michael Quinn, E. Gary Smith, Penni West, and the advice of Martha Taysom and the *Journal’s* anonymous reviewers. All errors and misjudgments of fact, interpretation, and sensitivity are Bergera’s own.



Joseph F. Smith, Patriarch to the Church (1942-46), was released from his calling in October 1946 following concerns regarding the possible nature of his relationship with an undergraduate at the University of Utah. Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

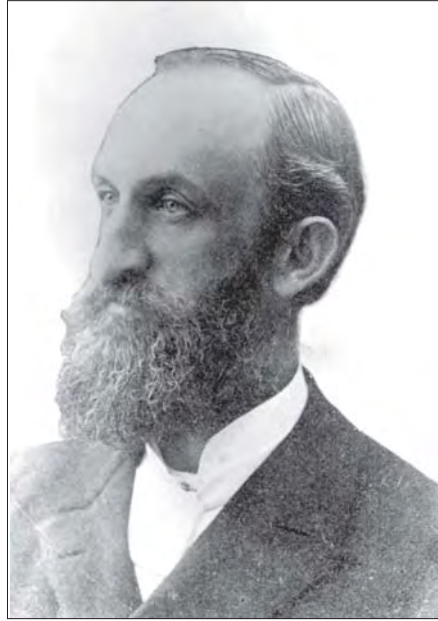
there as European Mission president.

He filled a proselytizing mission to the Hawaiian Islands (1920–22) and, six years later in 1929, married twenty-one-year-old Ruth Pingree (b. 1907) in the Salt Lake Temple. They raised three sons and four daughters. Also in 1929, Smith was appointed to the general board of the Church's Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. Smith graduated in speech and drama in 1924 from the University of Utah. He then enrolled at the University of Illinois, directed the Illinois Theatre Guild, and graduated with a master's degree. In 1936–38, he studied and taught at the University of Wisconsin. He also studied at the University of London and later at Oxford University, and taught at the University of Minnesota, University of Iowa, University of California at Berkeley, and the Banff School of Fine Arts. Throughout these years, he taught speech and drama at the University of Utah, directed the University Theatre, and occasionally appeared in stage productions. He was president of the Speech Association of America, Western Speech Association, Pacific Speech Association, associate editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, and co-author of the textbook *Fundamentals of Speech*. Early in 1942, he became ill with pneumonia and was hospitalized for several weeks. Shortly after recuperating, he underwent spinal surgery at the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota.¹

On October 8, 1942, Smith, age forty-three, was ordained and set apart as Patriarch to the Church by Church President Heber J. Grant (1856–1945). Smith's appointment filled an important position in the LDS Church's hierarchy that Grant had purposely left vacant

¹The preceding paragraphs summarize information from the following sources: "Prof. Joseph F. Smith Named Church Patriarch," *Deseret News*, October 3, 1942, 1; "LDS Church Sustain Founder's Kin; Joseph E. [sic] Smith New Patriarch," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 4, 1942, A-13; Joseph Fielding Smith, "Joseph F. Smith, Patriarch to the Church," *Improvement Era* 45 (November 1942): 694–95, 737–38; "LDS Leader, Lecturer Dies in S.L.," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 30, 1964, 6-C; and Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 173–200. For Smith's approach to public speaking, see his "Thy Speech Bewrayeth Thee": *Speech Arts Manual for the Use of Speech Arts Directors and Special Interest Groups* (Salt Lake City: General Boards of the Mutual Improvement Associations, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1940).

Heber J. Grant, LDS Church president (1918–45), kept the office of Presiding Patriarch vacant for a decade until the Quorum of the Twelve agreed to support his choice of a descendant of Apostle and Church President Joseph F. Smith. His choice was Smith's grandson and namesake, Joseph F. Smith, who would be released the year after Grant's death. Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.



for the previous ten years. Traditionally, the Presiding Patriarch (re-christened Patriarch to the Church with Smith's calling) gave patriarchal blessings to members who did not have access to the Church's stake patriarchs and also helped oversee and support the work of stake patriarchs. Patriarchal blessings are intended to be inspired pronouncements of advice and counsel that serve to help guide the recipient through his or her life.

Historically, the hereditary Churchwide office of Presiding Patriarch had passed from father to son among the male descendants of Joseph Smith Sr. (father of the Church's founder and first president). At Joseph Sr.'s death (1840), the office passed to his eldest surviving son, Hyrum. At Hyrum's death (1844), it passed to his younger brother William. At William's expulsion from the Church in 1845, the office remained vacant for several years, then descended to Joseph Sr.'s brother, John. At John's death in 1854, the office reverted to Hyrum's descendants, first to John Smith (Hyrum's oldest son), then in 1911 to John's grandson Hyrum Gibbs Smith. At Hyrum Gibbs's death in 1932, however, President Grant declined to name Hyrum's twenty-five-year-old son, Eldred Gee Smith (b. 1907), as successor, worried that he lacked the necessary age, experience, and wisdom. (Grant favored a different Hyrum Smith descendency, that of former Church

President Joseph F. Smith, rather than that of John Smith, Hyrum Gibbs, and Eldred Gee.) Grant's colleagues among the Twelve Apostles disagreed with this decision; but Grant held out, and the Twelve eventually acceded to their file leader's views.²

PATRIARCH TO THE CHURCH

As his first official act as Patriarch to the Church, Joseph F. Smith asked to bless Heber J. Grant.³ "I think it was an inspiration not to choose John Smith's great grandson to be the patriarch [i.e., Eldred G. Smith]," Grant confided four months later.

For ten years there has been a vacancy in the office of Presiding Patriarch, and yet at one time a majority of the Quorum of the Twelve felt that I ought to choose one of John Smith's great grandsons. It has been a very humiliating thing to me to have the majority of the brethren wanting me to choose a man who felt he was entitled to it, but I have seen all of them lately and they all say they are p[er]fectly willing to sustain Joseph F. Smith for the position. I was very glad that I stood out for ten years seeing that President Smith himself felt that he was entitled to have one of his line as the Presiding Patriarch.⁴

Meticulous in grooming, outgoing in personality, Joseph F. Smith was, according to a former student, "a kind of dandy in his dress, and always most precise in his presentations. He was a courte-

²Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 173–200.

³Heber J. Grant, Diary, October 25, 1942, typed excerpts in D. Michael Quinn Papers, Special Collections, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; the original is located in the LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, and is access-restricted. Smith remained at the University of Utah for another three months before a replacement was found allowing him to devote himself full-time, beginning in January 1943, to his new Church calling. In addition to giving patriarchal blessings, Smith met "weekly with the Council of Twelve and First Presidency in the Temple and perform[ed] other duties and functions as one of the General Authorities." "Patriarch Smith Takes Over New Church Duties," *Church News*, January 16, 1943, 1.

⁴Grant, Diary, February 27, 1943. Early the next year, Smith and his wife, Ruth, received their second anointings under the hands of George F. Richards and Joseph Fielding Smith. Joseph Fielding Smith, Diary, January 20, 1943, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers; access-restricted original in LDS Church History Library.

ous person and gentlemanly, possessing a sense of the dramatic. He expressed something in terms of refinement and was proud of his heritage. He was a fine dramatic coach, very innovative. I don't think he ever spoke without a sense of hearing his own voice. He was a very conscious speaker and enunciator. He was bright and could be acerbic to make a point. Yet for all the precision and sense of drama, there was also a softness about him."⁵

"Many nights have I lain and pondered the Lord's goodness to me," Smith told Church members in his first sermon as Patriarch to the Church, "goodness which I must confess seemed all too unmerited. . . . Obedience to the word of the Lord is the only thing which will fortify us in the days to come."⁶ "Honest doubt was never shameful," he later counseled a group of LDS college students. "Honest doubt is a salutary thing. Dynamic doubt is a good thing. A lazy doubt is a bad thing, as a lazy anything is bad."⁷

In his patriarchal blessings, Smith combined compassion with common sense. "At the present time you are a young man," he told one sixteen year old in mid-1944, "but even in your youth you can exert an influence for good." He continued:

You know that many of your age indulge in improper conduct and there will be those of your fellows who would persuade you to join them in that which is not right and indeed who will ridicule you for your refusal, but I promise you . . . that if you will stand fast, if you will keep yourself clean, if you will keep the Word of Wisdom strictly, doing that which you know to be right in the face of all adverse persuasion, your Father in Heaven will strengthen you. . . .

Be careful of your language. Say only those things from which good can come. You will find that as you keep the law—the law that our Father in Heaven has given to us—you will achieve a freedom, that you will avoid the enslavement of conscience, and you will be able to stand for that which is right, knowing full well that no one can make just accu-

⁵William Mulder, Interviewed by Gary James Bergera, June 11, 2003, notes in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

⁶"Remarks of Joseph F. Smith, Patriarch to the Church," *Improvement Era* 45 (November 1942): 694. Smith was sustained by the general conference as Patriarch to the Church on October 3, 1942, and ordained five days later on October 8.

⁷Joseph F. Smith, "Joseph Smith—A Prophet," February 6, 1944, in *The Annual Joseph Smith Memorial Sermons. Volume 1: Sermons 1–10* (Logan, Utah: LDS Institute of Religion, 1966), 2.

sation of wrong doing.⁸

"The Lord has told us that He will remember us in the day of our trial if we remember Him in the day of our prosperity," he advised another young man later that same year,

and you will have trial[s] to overcome. You will have peculiar temptations to face, but as you have remembered your Father in Heaven in gratitude and have exerted your effort to doing that which is right, I promise you that you shall have the strength to overcome every difficulty which is placed in your way and indeed, looking back upon it you will be aware that it has actually been a blessing to you. You will have been tempered by it. You will have been strengthened by it. . . . You will have opportunity to observe men and you will become skilled in reading their motives and that will stand you in good stead after [a] while.⁹

As teacher and mentor, Smith was especially interested in young people and their challenges. His letters written, while he was the presiding patriarch to Verl Ray Summers, an eighteen-year-old admirer, give the impression of a warm-hearted, self-effacing comrade. "There will be literally no end to the amount of good you can accomplish," he wrote in mid-1944, "through a steadfast example and through lending a sympathetic hand to some boys who may be less firmly grounded than you are."¹⁰ "I have a broad shoulder and I want you to feel free to unburden any old time," he added less than two weeks later. "It'll do you good."¹¹ "I think I must be one of the world's most inefficient persons," he confessed the following September.¹² "There are times when I feel that if I were on stilts, I couldn't see over the gutter!" he noted before the end of month. "Then someone comes in to see me, who has a real life tragedy to face, and I have to conclude that my own difficulties

⁸Joseph F. Smith, Patriarchal Blessing No. 791, May 18, 1944, photocopy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

⁹Joseph F. Smith, Patriarchal Blessing No. 1,095, December 1, 1944, photocopy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

¹⁰Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Verl Ray Summers, July 7, 1944, notes in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation, originals in LDS Church History Library. Summers was born in 1926. At the time he wrote this letter, Summers was in the U.S. Navy stationed in Flagstaff, Arizona.

¹¹Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Verl Ray Summers, July 18, 1944. Smith usually signed his letters to Summers "With loads of love."

¹²Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Verl Ray Summers, September 19, 1944.

are of minor proportion.”¹³ “I hope I shall always be worthy of your love and respect,” he counseled in one of his last known letters to Summers in mid-1945, “but you must bear carefully in mind that I am very human indeed, with a very large share of human weaknesses.”¹⁴

“HUMAN WEAKNESSES”

Evidently, Joseph F. Smith’s “large share of human weaknesses” included—as he and others of his contemporaries would have viewed it—same-gender attraction. According to historian D. Michael Quinn, during the fall of 1926 Smith may have begun a romantic friendship with Norval Murray Service, six years his junior.¹⁵

Researcher Connell O’Donovan reports a 1989 interview with one of Smith’s former students during which she stated, “Professor Smith flitted amongst the boys and Maud [May Babcock] flitted amongst us girls. We adored it! . . . [W]e all had crushes on each other at one time or another.”¹⁶ Smith and Service’s friendship apparently ended when Smith married Ruth Pingree in 1929 and was also appointed to the Young Men’s MIA superintendency.¹⁷ Decades later, some (generally partisan) observers insisted that Smith’s sexual orientation was known prior to his calling as the presiding patriarch,¹⁸ but according to LDS Church President George Albert Smith’s diary,

¹³Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Verl Ray Summers, September 29, 1944.

¹⁴Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Verl Ray Summers, August 17, 1945.

¹⁵D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 369, 386 note 18. Quinn’s admittedly speculative analysis is based largely upon the reminiscences of Eldred G. Smith (see note 17 below). Norval Murray Service was born in 1905 in Salt Lake City. In 1930, at age twenty-five, he married Audrey Claire Rager. They had no children. Service worked for Utah Builders Supply and later in the purchasing department of the Utah State Highway Department. He was a member of the LDS Church and died in 1971 in Salt Lake City. “Norval M. Service” (obituary), *Deseret News*, August 11, 1971, B–11.

¹⁶Information courtesy of Connell O’Donovan; see “Chronology of Events,” <http://home.earthlink.net/~ekerilaz/smith.html> (accessed September 2004).

¹⁷Eldred G. Smith, Interview, June 18, 1977, Quinn Papers. As Quinn notes, Smith’s recollection of events is sometimes imperfect.

¹⁸Ralph G. Smith, Eldred G. Smith’s uncle, insisted: “[Joseph F.

Church officials did not learn of Smith's possible inclinations until early 1946. "Bro[ther] [Lorenzo Dow] Browning called to report visit with Jos[eph]. F. S[mith]," George Albert Smith recorded without elaboration on February 26, 1946.¹⁹ Browning, an appraiser with the Utah State Tax Commission, and his wife, Ida Marie Chandler Browning, were the parents of twenty-year-old Byram Dow Browning (b. 1925).²⁰

Smith] was known to be a homosexual [in 1942]. My brother, John [Gibbs Smith], was very, very upset because he was Captain of the anti-vice squad at the Salt Lake City Police Department. Why, he says, the man's got a record. He says, we've had many women call in and complain about him molesting their little boys [over age eighteen, actually] at the school at the University of Utah." Quoted in Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 387 note 23; the brackets are Quinn's. Ralph may have been referring to the Stewart Laboratory School, an elementary school maintained by the University's School of Education for teacher training purposes. Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 200 note 49, also state: "[In] 1944 Ralph [G. Smith] went with his brother John, a police inspector, to tell President [Heber J.] Grant about Joseph F. Smith II's alleged homosexual activity." However, Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 388 note 25, explains: "While it is very difficult to believe that Heber J. Grant would simply ignore such an alleged report, from 1932 to 1942 the church president's diary indicated that these brothers were bitter about his decision not to appoint their nephew Eldred G. Smith as the church's patriarch. That being the case, it is conceivable that Grant could have dismissed such a report in 1944 as malicious and not worth investigating." I have not been able to independently substantiate that any high-ranking LDS Church authority knew of, or suspected, such reports and/or activities regarding Joseph F. Smith prior to 1946.

¹⁹George Albert Smith, Diary, February 26, 1946, photocopy, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter Marriott Library). Some seven weeks earlier, a brief entry in David O. McKay's diary reported without elaboration: "10:30 a.m.—Met with President George Albert Smith regarding Joseph F. Smith (Patriarch)." McKay, Diary, January 3, 1946, photocopy in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

²⁰Byram Browning's connection to Smith was first publicly noted by Connell O'Donovan in "'The Abominable and Detestable Crime against Nature': A Brief History of Homosexuality and Mormonism, 1840–1980," in *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family*, edited by Brent

NAME-CALLING

During the fall and winter of 1942, Byram Browning had been enrolled at the University of Utah, where Joseph F. Smith taught speech and drama. Early the next year, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy. Less than four months later, Browning was called to serve aboard the USS *Bennington*. He subsequently received four medals (including one for good conduct), was honorably discharged on May 4, 1946, and returned home from Virginia shortly afterwards. The topic of his father's February 1946 meetings with Joseph F. Smith and George Albert Smith while Byram was still in the Navy is not presently known. Later events indicate that, at some point previous to his son's return to Salt Lake City, Lorenzo Browning learned of a connection between Byram and Joseph F. Smith that concerned him enough to personally contact the Church's highest presiding officer.²¹

Within weeks of this meeting with Lorenzo Browning, Joseph F. Smith addressed students at Brigham Young University during a regular weekday devotional service. While not directly referring to his recent meeting, the following excerpts may help to reveal something of Smith's personality and temperament, his approach to public speak-

D. Corcoran (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 165 note 75; O'Donovan's updated version is at <http://connellodonovan.com/lgbtmormons.html> (accessed September 2004). Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 195, refer to Browning by last name only; Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 389 note 29, provides enough information to enable an identification.

²¹Information on Browning's military service, in the form of photocopies, was supplied by Connell O'Donovan and is used with permission. Quinn suggests, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 370, that Browning's local LDS ward leaders may have wanted to call him on a proselytizing mission (or perhaps his father had urged such a call) following his military service but that Browning demurred because of some past encounter with Smith. Quinn hypothesizes that Browning may have sought a patriarchal blessing from Joseph F. Smith, even though there is no evidence that Browning ever received a patriarchal blessing from Smith or any other patriarch. Then, when Browning explained his reluctance to go on a mission, Smith's behavior came to light. Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 370, relies on Eldred G. Smith, Interview, June 18, 1977, to conclude that Browning "admitted he was in an intimate relationship with the patriarch." O'Donovan believes that the two "had sexual relations." While an encounter of some kind seems to have occurred, I have not found corroborative evidence of overt sexual contact.

ing, and perhaps even his state of mind at the time. "We frequently react to persons as if they actually were the names they had been called," he stated.

Propagandists have learned that one of the best ways to destroy an individual is to call him names. And a number of persons quite unjustly have been all but ruined because they have been called Fascists or Communists or something else equally unpleasant, although I suspect that there isn't one United States citizen in ten who could concisely define either Communism or Fascism; all they know is that they are not American; that it is something bad. We use the words liberty and freedom carelessly.

We have told ourselves for the past four years that we have been fighting a war for the preservation of liberty and yet at this moment in the United States, there is less liberty than there was four years ago.

...

A man is free first when he belongs to a society which permits him the full development of his talents. If society deprives him of that development, he is to that extent not free. Second, he is free when his own conduct permits the development of his talents. And, if he indulge in any conduct which places an obstacle in his own path, to that extent he is depriving himself of freedom. And you may look about you in this great country of ours and find that the populace is increasingly enslaving itself on the basis of personal conduct. . . .

Now, I want seriously to say to you young folks in these important times, that whatever delegations we may send to any sort of United Nations Organization, those delegations will fail, a United Nations Organization will be absolutely futile if the individual citizens of the United States do not insure to themselves their personal freedom. Corporate liberty is an impossibility except if the individual members of society enjoy freedom. And that freedom lies within the reach of each of us as individuals. Not infrequently you hear this: "What can I do to help world peace? Here I am, one lone, miserable individual. I cannot have any influence. I cannot do anything which will help. I am powerless." That, of course, is just nonsense, for the peace of the world rests upon the collective individuals in the world; it does not rest upon nations; it rests upon the individuals in those nations. . . .

So, each of us must examine his conduct and he must determine what that conduct will be so that he may have freedom. And each one of us has the right to choose. Not only that, every one of us has the ability to choose, if he will but use it. One of the fundamental tenets of your gospel is that men must choose. . . .

... [E]vents and experiences are two very different things. I would like to talk about that a little this morning; the difference between experience and events.

If I may use an analogy for a moment, suppose I had here in front of me two or three beakers containing different substances. Suppose I had here a beaker of milk, and a large beaker of mint tea, and here a beaker of plain water. Suppose I add to each of those a teaspoonful of lemon juice. You would not see very much difference in the beaker of plain water. You will notice an instantaneous change in color in the mint tea. You will not notice any difference at all in the milk but you let the milk stand until tomorrow and there will be a very profound difference in it. Now, the event—a teaspoonful of lemon juice in each of these things—seems about the same thing, but the results are very very different. The results are very very different.

Now, here are three persons each experiencing, we say, the same event, the same occurrence, but it is not the same because each of these individuals is different and what that event does to him is conditioned by what he is at the moment, his own background, everything that has gone into his past. All these things determine how he will react to that event.

It reminds me of the first time I ever tasted Borscht. For those of you who do not know what Borscht is, it is a Russian soup made out of sour cream and beet juice and other things that I do not know about. Now, I can see from the expression of some of you that it sounds like a terrible dish. Now, when I was having this, I was with a friend who was also taking his first taste. He took his first taste and I saw by the expression of his face that it was to be his last taste. I took my first taste and loved it. Now, what was the difference? It was the same soup, it came out of the same kettle, but his experience was entirely different from mine. His tastes, his training in vittles has been different from mine. The experience was entirely different. . . .

You know, if we would pre-edit our speech, the world would be a lot happier place. One of the finest pieces of advice I think my father ever gave to me was “Sonny, think twice before you speak, and then shut up.” I wonder how many there are here who can go back and recall something that has been said quite carelessly but something that has hurt. I wonder if there are people here today who have not been hurt by a thoughtless remark? If we would choose carefully the things we say. If we would think: Will I be better off? Will anybody else be any better off for my saying this? You know, if people would do that, there would be a lot more time for thinking and a lot less rubbish to have to listen to. . . .

. . . One of my great regrets is that when I shuffle off this mortal coil, I shall probably have spent a third of my mortal existence in bed. I think my only quarrel with the Almighty, if I may be so sacrilegious to suggest that, is that He made us so that we needed rest. When I look around and see the myri[a]ds of interesting things to do, wonderful, interesting things. I do not mean the things which are interesting that are not worthwhile. (Laughter) When I think of

all the places in the world I would like to go and I know I never will go, and when I think of all the books I would like to read that I am not going to get to read. I have one shelf in my office which I call my "must" shelf. It is an awful lie! Yet, I put books on there which I must read and every once in awhile another book comes along and I say this is a greater must than this one, so I take this one out and put this one in. There are dozens of books that I feel I ought to read and that I am not getting read, and that being the case, I have not time to waste on completely trivial stuff.

I cannot understand how any individual is so stupid as to allow himself to be bored, even in the most boring company. . . .

There has been of late in education circles a certain pooh-poohing of the past. They have said, "We are not concerned with things that are gone; we are concerned with the present." We have said, for instance, don't study Latin. That is dead and gone; there is no use having any students studying Latin when we have got to speak English. You see, that is stupid; just stupid. After all, right now, each one of us is the sum total of his past. You cannot escape it. Those of us who have had some Latin—really had it—know that you have not taken anything in school that has been more enlightening to your present use of English than your study of Latin. You probably do not say over 250 words consecutively without using words that are of Latin derivations. At this moment I am the sum total of my past. At this moment, we are nationally, socially, the sum total of our past. . . .

It is only common sense that we try to improve the things that are so important to us. But, in the making of history, if individuals know more about history, if people know more about mistakes made by the preceding generations, they would not make the same mistake again so easily. One of the tragic things about history is that generations after generations of people go on making—May I be rough and say—making the same damn fool mistakes over and over again. If we at this time knew more about actual history—I do not mean just a mere chronological list of events, but if we knew more about the social development, we would be better prepared to protect ourselves from making the same mistakes over and over again. And right now, nationally, we are going ahead and making some of the same mistakes that we did after World War I and we will suffer on a greater scale now because the mistakes are on a greater scale. . . .

. . . Let us choose so that every event that comes into our lives will be enriching so that we will be bigger than any event, come whatever calamity may be. We can so choose that it will not destroy us. We can lose our lives—that is neither here nor there. We can have freedom each in his own sphere. Each can contribute importantly to corporate freedom. We can control events and we can build faith until even the physical world will be under our power.



George Albert Smith, Heber J. Grant's successor as LDS Church president (1945–51), decided to investigate allegations regarding his distant cousin, Joseph F. Smith, patriarch.

The Lord help us first to see clearly; second, to choose wisely and courageously.²²

Following a visit in mid-April 1946 from Byram Browning's uncle LeGrand Chandler "about Joseph F. [Smith] Patriarch," George Albert Smith decided to meet with Joseph F. (to whom he was distantly related). The questions and implied accusations apparently caught Joseph F. completely off-guard. After two and a half hours, the meeting ended, and Joseph F., evidently devastated by the encounter, immediately "left for home," George Albert recorded on May 1,

²²"Address delivered by the Presiding Patriarch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Joseph F. Smith, at the Brigham Young University, Tuesday, March 5, 1946, 11:00 A.M.," photocopy, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections). See also "Patriarch Stresses Freedom in Address to B.Y.U. Students," *Church News*, March 16, 1946, 5 and 12.

1946.²³ Joseph F. and Ruth at that point were making their home in Centerville, Utah, some ten miles north of Salt Lake City.

“JOSEPH’S ILLNESS”

That same day, Joseph F. Smith’s secretary was instructed, without elaboration, that “Joseph F. Smith II was not to give any more blessings.” “She was flabbergasted,” Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith report in their history of the office of the presiding patriarch. “His secretary never saw Joseph F. Smith II again.”²⁴ Two days later, Joseph F.’s wife, Ruth, informed George Albert Smith that her husband was “ill.”²⁵ Joseph F.’s unspecified “illness”—possibly a temporary but nonetheless sufficiently debilitating form of depression to leave him generally confined to his house—quickly became the public reason for his absence from Church headquarters. “I talked briefly with Ruth Pingree Smith (Patriarch Joseph F. Smith’s wife) regarding Joseph’s illness,” wrote Frank Evans, the First Presidency’s financial secretary, before the end of the month, “having known Ruth since her childhood. I suggested to her that she should not fail to let us know if we can help her during her husband’s illness.”²⁶ “Visited with Jos[eph]. F. [Smith],” George Albert wrote in mid-June 1946. “He is not

²³George Albert Smith, Diary, April 15 and May 1, 1946; McKay, Diary, May 1, 1946. George Albert and Joseph F. were distantly related as third cousins once removed. George Albert was the son of John Henry Smith who was the son of George A. Smith, who was the son of John Smith, Joseph Smith Sr.’s brother. Joseph F. (patriarch) was the son of Hyrum Mack Smith, who was the son of Joseph F. Smith (apostle and Church president), who was the son of Hyrum Smith, who was the son of Joseph Sr. Joseph F. (Patriarch) was named for his paternal grandfather.

²⁴Bates and Smith, *Lost Legacy*, 195. Only a few days earlier, in late April 1946, Joseph F. Smith had given what would be his last patriarchal blessing. During his four years as Patriarch to the Church, he pronounced a total of just more than 1,700 blessings.

²⁵George Albert Smith, Diary, May 3, 1946.

²⁶Frank Evans, Diary, May 27, 1946, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers; access-restricted original in LDS Church History Library. LDS officials, describing themselves as “rather put to it in the absence of the Patriarch to have the patriarchal blessings taken care of,” soon enlisted the aid of substitutes to fill in for Smith. One “said he would give the blessings if they can reach him at a time when he is free and he will get in touch with the Patri-

well.”²⁷ “On the way we called on the Patriarch Joseph F. Smith in Centerville,” recorded Joseph F.’s uncle, Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, two weeks later. “He has been ailing for some time with what appears to be a recurrence of his old trouble in his back.”²⁸ It is not clear whether Joseph Fielding assumed or was told that the patriarch’s ailment was related to his back.

By early July 1946, George Albert Smith had begun to worry that the situation involving Joseph F. might be potentially more problematic than imagined. “Met in office with Council of Presidency and Twelve,” he wrote on July 10. “[Jos[eph] [F. Smith] Patriarch case considered. Bad situation. Am heartsick.”²⁹ “All morning I was in meeting with the First Presidency and Apostles in the Presidents office,” Joseph Fielding Smith recorded of the same meeting. He included more details about the situation regarding his patriarch nephew: “The regular routine was followed and then matters of a most serious nature were presented by the Presidency which brought a shock to me and my brethren [sic], this was of a nature which I do not feel at liberty or capable of discussion. It is enough for me to say that what was presented was a shock to me of the greatest magnitude, and I think likewise to my brethren, or some of them.”³⁰

“Met in Church Council room with Presidency and Twelve,” George Albert Smith added the next day, July 11. “Transacted considerable business. Discussed condition of Patriarch Jos[eph]. F. [Smith.]”³¹ Later that day, George Albert decided to confer directly once more with Joseph F. and asked J. Reuben Clark, his first counselor, to arrange the appointment. Clark’s diary entry for July 12, recorded rather confusingly in third person (his secretary was maintaining his diary), reads: “Called Joseph F. Smith, the Patriarch, and said it was at Pres[ident George Albert]. Smith’s request. Bro[ther Joseph Fielding] Smith interposed to say that Edith called late last night [i.e., July 11] and left word to get in touch with Pres[ident J.

arch’s office and let them know what arrangement is made so they can know to whom to send for the blessings.” See also J. Reuben Clark, *Diary*, May 29, 1946, original in Perry Special Collections.

²⁷George Albert Smith, *Diary*, June 16, 1946.

²⁸Joseph Fielding Smith, *Diary*, June 29, 1946.

²⁹George Albert Smith, *Diary*, July 10, 1946, bracketed text mine.

³⁰Joseph Fielding Smith, *Diary*, July 10, 1946.

³¹George Albert Smith, *Diary*, July 11, 1946.

Reuben]. Clark. Pres[ident]. Clark asked if he [Joseph F. Smith] could come in today and the appointment was made for 3 o'clock this afternoon."³²

Word of the situation also reached Elder Ezra Taft Benson in Europe, where he was helping to supervise the distribution of LDS Church relief aid. "Received some intimation of impending serious difficulty involving one of my associates in the council of the Church," he recorded. "While I have no word of any details, my heart is heavy in contemplation of the announcement. May the Lord in His own way ease the sorrow of my beloved brother."³³ The content of this July 12 meeting and the names of those in attendance are not presently known.

Nothing happened for about two months. Then, in early September 1946, George Albert Smith again visited the still-ailing Joseph F. Smith in his Centerville home. "A pitiable case," George Albert wrote afterwards.³⁴ While George Albert had met separately with Joseph F. and Lorenzo Browning, the Church president had never spoken directly with Byram or with Joseph F. and Byram together. Ten days later, he arranged such a meeting. "Restless night," he recorded on September 16. "At office 8[:.]15. Met with Presidency & Jos[eph] F. [Smith] Patriarch & Ruth [Pingree Smith] [Lorenzo Dow] Browning & son [Byram Dow] present. A[lbert] E Bowen also listened in. Regret that the evidence is not satisfactory."³⁵ J. Reuben Clark noted only those attending (omitting Bowen) in his diary: "Jos[eph]. [F. Smith] Patriarch. First Presidency. Mr. [Lorenzo Dow] Browning & a boy [i.e.,

³²Clark, Diary, July 12, 1946. "Edith" was Edith Smith Elliot, George Albert Smith's daughter. On July 30, 1946, Clark recorded that he met with Harold Bennett, manager of ZCMI, the Church-owned department store, and "gave him facts."

³³Ezra Taft Benson, Diary, August 14, 1946, photocopy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

³⁴George Albert Smith, Diary, September 6, 1946.

³⁵Ibid., September 16, 1946. Albert E. Bowen, trained as a lawyer, had been ordained an LDS apostle in April 1937. See David Dryden, *Biographical Essays on Four General Authorities of the Twentieth Century: Charles A. Callis, Albert E. Bowen, Adams S. Bennion, and Matthew Cowley*, Task Papers in LDS History, No. 12 (Salt Lake City: History Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1976), 18–37.

Byram Dow].”³⁶ Where questions may have lingered in the minds of some, the testimony of Byram, who turned twenty-one in 1946, evidently put an end to speculation.³⁷

“WHATEVER YOU DECIDE”

Rumors concerning the presiding patriarch were beginning to circulate; and two days later, Joseph F. Smith’s brother-in-law, Harold Beecher, and brother, Hyrum Mack Smith Jr., telephoned J. Reuben Clark, desiring an appointment. According to Clark’s diary, he “suggested that they go to Pres[ident]. [George Albert] Smith. On their comment ‘You do not care to discuss it’, he [i.e., Clark] said, ‘it is not quite that, it is not my place to discuss it with you, that is placed with the President of the Church.’”³⁸ Following Clark’s advice, “Hyrum Smith and Harold Beecher came to consider Joseph [F. Smith] Patriarch’s position” later the same day, September 18, with George Albert Smith.³⁹ Details of this meeting were apparently not recorded.

George Albert Smith, who years earlier had lobbied for Eldred Gee Smith as the presiding patriarch in preference to Joseph F. Smith, took no satisfaction in the recent developments. Perhaps hoping for a last-minute resolution, he met once more with Joseph F. in late September, less than a week before the opening session of the Church’s October general conference. “Visited with Joseph F. Smith Patriarch an hour at his home,” he recorded.⁴⁰ Concluding that the situation was beyond easy remedy, the Church president on October 3: “Spent 5 hours with Council in Temple. Joseph F. Smith Patriarch is unable to

³⁶Clark, Diary, September 16, 1946; see also McKay, Diary, September 16, 1946: “Today was an extremely trying and tiring day.” McKay was then second counselor in George Albert Smith’s First Presidency.

³⁷From 1946 to 1950, Byram Browning attended the University of Utah and lived with his parents. His photograph appears in the *Utonian 1948* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Class of 1948), 78. By the mid-1950s, he had married and began raising a family, and in 1959 was living in California. He later divorced and remarried. He fathered six children, all during his first marriage.

³⁸Clark, Diary, September 18, 1946. Harold Kline Beecher was married to Joseph F. Smith’s sister Margaret; Hyrum Mack Smith was the patriarch’s younger brother, named for their father, Hyrum Mack Smith [Sr.].

³⁹George Albert Smith, Diary, September 18, 1946.

⁴⁰Ibid., September 29, 1946.

carry on.”⁴¹ That same afternoon, Joseph F. Smith submitted the following letter:

Centerville, Utah. 3rd of October, 1946.

President George Albert Smith, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear President Smith:

As you know I have been very ill for many months. While I am slowly gaining strength and hope soon again to be able to do some work, I do not know when, if at all, I shall be able to stand the full drain upon my energy incident to the office of Patriarch to the Church.

As you know the duties of the Patriarch entail heavy exhaustion. Since but one man holds that office, if he is measurably incapacitated, its work must in that degree suffer.

I know, of course, that one neither resigns nor asks to be released from such a calling, out of personal considerations, any more than one requests appointment or asks for office. My chief desire is that the work of the Lord shall prosper.

Bearing these things in mind, I am writing to say that if you desire me to carry on, I shall do my best. If, however, in the circumstances, you should feel that the interests of the Church would be best served by releasing me at this time, I want you to feel at liberty to do that. I am therefore writing this letter to let you know you have my full support for whatever you decide.

I am grateful for the Lord's goodness to me and mine.

Ever praying the Lord's choicest blessings upon you, I am sincerely your brother,

Joseph F. Smith⁴²

Three days later, on October 6, 1946, Joseph F. Smith was formally released as Patriarch to the Church. “Tabernacle & Assembly hall filled,” wrote George Albert. “Jos[eph]. F. Smith was released. A sad happening.”⁴³ David O. McKay, the second counselor in the First Presidency, announced to the general conference faithful: “You will note that in the presentation of the General Authorities, the name of the Patriarch was omitted. . . . After careful and prayerful consideration, and with deep regret and sympathy for his condition, the First

⁴¹Ibid., October 3, 1946.

⁴²Joseph F. Smith, quoted in “Patriarch to the Church Released from Duties,” *Improvement Era* 49 (November 1946): 685, 708.

⁴³George Albert Smith, Diary, October 6, 1946, bracket additions mine.

Presidency, with the expressed assent and approval of the Council of the Twelve, have decided, under all the circumstances, that Brother Joseph F. Smith shall be released from his duties as Patriarch to the Church.”⁴⁴ Thus, officially at least, Joseph F. Smith did not resign, but was released, and not for “ill health,” but because of an unspecified “condition.”

Joseph F. Smith’s supporters hoped to uncover evidence to undermine the allegations against the ex-patriarch. “Orval [Webster] Adams called to say that Wallace and Geo[rge]. Spencer wanted him to speak to the father of ‘this boy [i.e., Browning],’” J. Reuben Clark’s diary reported three weeks later, “and if the father [of Browning] said no [to meeting], the boy would not need to be spoken to. Pres[ident]. [J. Reuben] Clark agreed with Mr. Adams that he should not do this but that Pres[ident]. [George Albert] Smith was the one [to talk to the Brownings]. Bro[ther]. Adams said he would tell Geo[rge]. that Bro[ther]. Smith should do that.”⁴⁵ Such attempts to uncover additional, possibly exculpatory, information proved futile and soon ceased; and in 1947 Joseph F. Smith, Ruth, and their children relocated to Honolulu, Hawaii,⁴⁶ where local LDS Church leaders were quietly directed not to extend any callings nor to issue a temple recommend to the former General Authority. These official instructions, in essence, disfellowshipped Smith. “I called on Joseph F. Smith & family,” wrote Apostle George F. Richards, who, like most others of the General Authorities, had not been fully informed of Smith’s punishment. “He informed me that he is to go to the homeland [mainland] from the

⁴⁴In “Patriarch to the Church Released from Duties.”

⁴⁵Clark, Diary, October 25, 1946. George Albert Smith, Diary, October 25, 1946, recorded: “Phoned Joseph [F. Smith] Patriarch, he feels better.” George Albert Smith tried to stay in touch with Joseph and Ruth Smith; see his brief mentions of conversations, Diary, January 25 and 31 and August 20, 1947.

⁴⁶See, for example, Clark, Office Diary, October 15, 1947: “Called Ralph [E.] Woolley [president of the Oahu Stake] and told him there had been received a wire from Jay [A. Quealy Jr. of the Honolulu Stake] asking about issuing a temple recommend to Joseph F. Smith. Pres[ident]. [J. Reuben] Clark said he did not think the First Presidency ought to go on it; Bro[ther]. Woolley said he would cable the man and tell him to hold off.” At the time of Joseph F. Smith’s death in 1964, the Smiths were living at 2423 Halelea Place, Honolulu.

School between Christmas and will spend four days in Salt Lake. Pres[ident]. [Ralph E.] Woolley [of the Oahu Stake] showed me a letter from the First Presidency instructing him that J[oseph]. F. S[mith]. is not to be used in any Church capacity. This closed my mouth on the subject, and the further fact that he will see the Presidency the latter part of this month.”⁴⁷ “Had long interview at 11:00 am with Jos[eph]. F. Smith,” recorded George Albert Smith three weeks later without elaboration, “who flew here from Hawaii to attend the Nat[ional]’l Speech Ass[ociatio]n Convention.”⁴⁸

Historically, only excommunication or formal disfellowshipment had provoked the removal from office of one of the Church’s General Authorities, and many members no doubt wondered what precisely lay behind the extraordinary action. That Joseph F. Smith was never publicly disciplined for transgressing Church teachings on sexual conduct—unlike Apostles Albert Carrington and Richard R. Lyman, who both had been publicly removed from office and expelled from the Church for “lewd and lascivious conduct and adultery” (Carrington) and “violation of the Christian law of chastity” (Lyman)⁴⁹—suggests that Joseph F.’s behavior was probably not overtly sexual (meaning genital contact in some form). However, if Byram Browning had reported hugs, kisses, and possibly affectionate caresses, the presiding authorities may have felt that such behavior was inappropriate.⁵⁰ However, at this stage of evolving policy on matters involving sexual behavior in the Church, even if overt sexual contact

⁴⁷George F. Richards, Diary, December 6, 1947, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers; access-restricted original in LDS Church History Library.

⁴⁸George Albert Smith, Diary, December 31, 1947.

⁴⁹For these cases, see Bergera, “Transgression in the LDS Community: The Cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith”—Part 1, Albert Carrington (37, no. 3 [Summer 2011]: 118–61, and Part 2, Richard R. Lyman (37, no. 4 [Fall 2011]: 173–207.

⁵⁰Physical expressions of platonic same-gender affection were not uncommon between some LDS officials. Consider the following interaction between Spencer W. Kimball and George Albert Smith: “Pres[ident]. Smith stood also and came near me and said they all loved me and the Church loved me and he drew me to him, put his arms about my shoulders and kissed my forehead. I was humbled by his action and his sweet spirit.” Spencer W. Kimball, Diary, September 25, 1948, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers; see also Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 112–18, 374–75. Such displays

had occurred, Joseph F. Smith may have felt that only heterosexual intercourse constituted adultery.

Possible insight into the interpretation of the Church's evolving policy is an incident that occurred five years later in 1951. By then, David O. McKay had succeeded George Albert Smith as Church president. Stephen L Richards, his first counselor in the First Presidency, recorded the following exchange regarding a young LDS missionary accused of sexual transgression:

Pres[ident]. [Bryan L.] Bunker [of the California Mission] said this Elder [arrested in Long Beach] was alone in this charge [i.e., molestation], and three boys were the victims, ages 12 and 13. He claims this was his first offense. Pres[ident]. Bunker said he and [East Long Beach Stake] Pres[ident]. [John C.] Dalton have had a serious talk with the Elder, and that he was not satisfied with his attitude nor his response. He did not tell the truth but finally said he was guilty as charged, after Pres[ident]. Dalton had read him the charges. Pres[ident]. Bunker said he was not wholesome and he did not want him in the mission. Pres[ident]. Richards said that on his confession we would excommunicate him and send him home, although explaining that excommunication trials are conducted only after the [criminal] trial has taken place.

Pres[ident]. Bunker said, however he would not want to magnify the seriousness of his offense. All he did was to put his hands on the boys where he should not have. Pres[ident]. Richards asked if there was any proof of his actual penetration. President Bunker said, "He does not admit that. That is not even charged."

Pres[ident]. Richards said that he had not been given the right interpretation, that in many respects that is a superficial charge, and we must assume that it was not a completed act. President Bunker said, "No. He was just handling the boys. He handled two of the boys from the outside of their clothes, and one boy on the inside. They make no charge of the overt act." Pres[ident]. Richards said that places a different aspect on it, because Brother [Franklin] Murdock had concluded something worse than that had taken place; however, he is guilty of a great indiscretion; but it may be under such circumstances we had better see that he secures a fair defense. . . .

If a trial proves that he is guilty of a felony, excommunication may

of the "love of man to man," Elder Harold B. Lee later asserted, "can, of course, be prostituted into one of the ugliest relationships that we know, that we call homosexuality." Address to Regional Representatives Seminar, April 3, 1969, typed notes by Dennis "C" Davis, in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

be in order. However, that is for later consideration.⁵¹

Thus, for Richards at least, “penetration” required more serious disciplining than “handling” only.

At the same time, some observers may have wondered if Joseph F. Smith was not formally disciplined because George Albert Smith did not want to initiate proceedings against one of the Church’s General Authorities so soon after Richard R. Lyman’s expulsion only three years earlier in 1943. It may also have been that George Albert Smith was more forgiving of such “weakness,” viewing it as illness rather than as sin.⁵² Or he may have feared the embarrassment, both to the Church and to Joseph F. Smith and his family, that public expo-

⁵¹Stephen L. Richards, Diary, October 29, 1951, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers. In fact, according to J. Reuben Clark, Diary, September 11, 1950, the Church’s official response to members accused of homosexual activities—although presumably where the behavior did not include penetration—was evidently not to jeopardize their Church membership: “President Delbert G. Taylor, Counselor in the Rexburg [Idaho, Stake] Presidency, called to see me about the following matters, both connected with the Ricks College: 1. They had just discharged a man from the faculty, a teacher of music, . . . for homosexuality. Apparently it had been going on for several years; he alleged he had not tampered with young boys, but he evidently had tampered with others who had been at the school. They had caught him through a confession of another man, though they had investigated him before, he had strenuously denied it. He [i.e., Taylor] enquired about whether he should be handled churchwise. I said thus far we had done no more than drop them from positions they held.”

⁵²Earl B. Kofoed wrote of his and others’ experiences at LDS Church-owned Brigham Young University in the mid to late 1940s: “The Church’s seeming ‘live and let live’ policy is exemplified by the experience of two of my friends at the time. . . . They were in love and felt a need to get clarification concerning their ‘status.’ Accordingly, they went all the way to the top and got an appointment with Church President George Albert Smith. They stated their case to him and acknowledged their love for each other. President Smith treated them with great kindness and told them, in effect, to live the best lives they could. They felt they had gambled and could have been excommunicated right then and there; instead they went away feeling loved and valued. Kofoed, “Memories of Being Gay at BYU,” *Affinity*, April 1993, 9, also at http://www.affirmation.org/history/memories_of_being_gay.shtml (accessed October 6, 2004); see also Quinn,

sure would have generated.⁵³ Possibly George Albert Smith considered that Church members could question Heber J. Grant's insight as a prophet if he appointed a man who, four years later, would be removed from office for behavior that some asserted had begun before his appointment as the presiding patriarch. Grant's decision may have seemed especially problematic given that he made it after leaving the office vacant for ten years until the Quorum of the Twelve seems to have begrudgingly acceded to his wishes. Without access to the relevant primary documents, no motivation for George Albert Smith's decision to handle the matter "quietly" can be determined. Whatever the reason, the fact that Joseph F. Smith was never officially tried before the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve—unlike Albert Carrington and Richard R. Lyman—served to fuel public rumor and speculation. In fact, it may be argued that the very ambiguity of the situation surrounding Smith is perhaps the most significant feature of his case.

IN HAWAII

The transition for Joseph F. Smith and his family was not easy.⁵⁴ Although he would secure a permanent teaching position at the Uni-

Same-Sex Dynamics, 372.

⁵³As reported in Eldred G. Smith, Interview, June 18, 1977.

⁵⁴"The most anguishing kind of pain," wrote one of Joseph F. Smith's sons of his own experience fifty years later with official LDS Church discipline (including excommunication, rebaptism, and the restoration of priesthood and temple blessings), "often comes self-inflicted, by way of major transgression of the Lord's commandments. It is a pain felt when we recognize the gulf that exists between what the Lord has commanded us to do and what we are actually doing. This kind of heavy-duty pain—weighing upon our spirits like lead, piercing us to the soul with self-doubt and self-loathing—is there not just to make us feel remorseful about what we have done. It also serves an important function in the process of repentance." Hyrum W. Smith with Gerreld L. Pulsipher, *Pain Is Inevitable, Misery Is Optional* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2004), 48. See also Carrie A. Moore, "Utah Businessman Now Back in the Fold," *Deseret Morning News*, April 3, 2004, A-1. Hyrum W. Smith, a popular motivational and time-management speaker, co-developed the Franklin Day Planner and helped to found Franklin Quest Company.

versity of Hawaii and eventually chair its Speech Department),⁵⁵ Joseph F. and Ruth worried about their family's finances. George Albert Smith eased the transition somewhat by continuing the salary Joseph F. Smith had received as patriarch. Frank Evans, financial secretary to the First Presidency, recorded in March 1947: "I talked with him [President Smith] about the continuance of allowance of salaries for former Patriarch Joseph F. Smith. . . . President Smith expressed himself as being in favor of continuing these payments for the time being and until further ordered."⁵⁶ Six months later, Evans, who was also a member of the Church's "Committee on Personnel" with Presiding Bishop Joseph L. Wirthlin, discussed with George Albert Smith "whether the following [employees] should receive the ten per cent [increase in annual] allowance to begin September 1, 1947" and specifically queried whether it would apply to Joseph F. Smith. "We spent about half an hour with President [J. Reuben] Clark on the same subject and about half an hour with President [David O.] McKay. They decided to not let the ten per cent apply to any of these except Elinor B. Hodgson. As to Joseph F. Smith, President Smith expressed the view that he should continue to receive his \$400 per month until the end of the present calendar year, then that it should be discontinued."⁵⁷

Six months later in March 1948, "President [George Albert] Smith came to me with a letter from Joseph F. Smith, former Patriarch," Evans noted, "in which a request was made for financial aid. After discussion of the matter, President Smith asked that the requested funds should be sent on a monthly basis up to March 1, and he asked me to outline a letter for the signature of the First Presidency and a different one for his own signature so that he might select as to which should be signed. This was promptly attended to."⁵⁸ Two years later, in 1950, after Joseph F. and Ruth's youngest child entered school, Ruth applied for a Social Security number and began teaching sixth

⁵⁵Joseph F. joined the faculty of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, in January 1947, and was named a visiting professor of speech. Beginning the following August, he was employed full-time as a professor of speech and as Speech Department chair. In 1962, he was appointed a full professor. James F. Cartwright, email to Gary Bergera, November 5, 2003.

⁵⁶Frank Evans, Diary, March 19, 1947.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, September 23, 1947. I have been unable to determine Hodgson's identity.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, March 15, 1948.

grade at Hanahaouli Elementary in Honolulu.

Eight months before his death in 1951, George Albert Smith, who was in Hawaii to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Church's presence there, visited one last time with Joseph F. Smith. "In the afternoon, by prearrangement," he recorded in mid-August 1950, "Joseph F. Smith, former patriarch of the Church, came to the [Ralph E.] Woolley home, and he and I stayed up in my room and had a long talk together concerning many things, particularly with reference to his problems."⁵⁹ Concerned about Smith's financial situation, George Albert asked businessman-turned-apostle Henry D. Moyle for advice in December of that year. During the hour-long meeting, wrote Moyle in his diary, "he talked of the former & present patriarch. Wanted to do something for both of them."⁶⁰ (The "present patriarch" was Eldred G. Smith.)

Over the next six years, Joseph F. Smith worked to rebuild his life in the Church. Local LDS leaders, aware of his restricted status, began gradually to push for a change. "8:30 a.m. Elder Jay A. Quealy Jr. President of the Honolulu Stake, Honolulu. Called at the office," David O. McKay's diary reported in April 1957. "We discussed matters pertaining to the restoring of Joseph F. Smith III to activity which will have to await the outcome of my talking with other people involved in this case."⁶¹ The next month, one of Smith's sons, Hyrum W., who was preparing to leave on a proselytizing mission, asked that his father speak at the farewell sacrament meeting. The stake president, Jay Quealy, telephoned President McKay and, according to McKay's diary,

⁵⁹George Albert Smith, Diary, August 16, 1950. Joseph F. Smith was involved in the festivities, though his participation was not widely acknowledged. "The pageant was under the direction of Brother Joseph F. Smith, former patriarch to the Church and now professor at the University of Hawaii," wrote George Albert Smith the next day, "and the presentation was a credit to the church and the Hawaiian people."

⁶⁰Henry D. Moyle, Diary, December 1, 1950, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers; access-restricted original in LDS Church History Library.

⁶¹McKay, Diary, April 10, 1957. Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics*, 371, suggests that Byram Browning may have had to give his consent before the restrictions on Smith could be lifted. I have not been able to substantiate that McKay actually contacted any of the parties involved prior to the decision to restore Smith to full fellowship.

David O. McKay, counselor to George Albert Smith (1945–51), and LDS Church president (1951–70), acceded to the advocacy of Joseph F. Smith’s local leaders in Hawaii to cancel the informal disfellowshipment imposed upon him. Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.



Said that Joseph F. Smith’s son’s farewell is this coming Sunday night. The missionary son is requesting that his father speak at the farewell. President Quealy asked if he could give Brother Smith permission to speak on this occasion.

I answered that I suppose there is nothing we can do but let him speak—so permission was granted.⁶²

McKay’s reluctance seems evident in this entry; but two months later, Joseph F.’s bishop made an even stronger argument for the former patriarch:

8:45 a.m.—Case of Joseph F. Smith III[.] Bishop Lowell Christensen of the Wakiki Ward, Honolulu Stake, called at the office. He asked if Joseph F. Smith III may be given responsibility and assignment in the Ward. Since no official action to excommunicate or disfellowship Brother Smith had ever been taken, and in view of the steadfast faithfulness of his wife and children, and the punishment Brother Smith has suffered; and that he has confessed, asked to be forgiven, and has forsaken his sins, the duty to forgive him was recognized. I presented this matter at our meeting of the First Presidency this morning, and it was agreed that Bishop Christensen be so informed.

Later, when Bishop Christensen returned to the office, I told him

⁶²McKay, Diary, May 9, 1957.

of our decision this morning—that Brother Smith is to be forgiven and that he may now be given responsibility in the Ward.⁶³

Before the end of the year, McKay's diary again recorded:

Pres[ident]. [Jay A.] Quealy [Jr.] [of the Honolulu Stake] came in regarding the reactivating of Joseph F. Smith. I told Pres[ident]. Quealy that no formal action was taken when he was disfellowshipped, and that I think we should take no formal action on his participation. Joseph F. Smith has a son on a mission, and Joseph F. Smith recently confessed to his wife and wrote a full confession to the First Presidency. Now his youngest son is participating in Church activity.

I told Pres[ident]. Quealy that we would go this far—that he might use Joseph F. Smith as he (Pres[ident]. Quealy) thinks best under the circumstances. That, however, is as far as I felt to go in the matter.⁶⁴

Four months later in mid-April 1959, Ruth Pingree Smith wrote to McKay: “I know, better than anyone else, the trial our family has been to you and to the authorities.” She also expressed “appreciation that permission has been granted for Joseph to be of some use in the activities of the Church.”⁶⁵ Seven months later, on November 9, 1958, Joseph F. Smith was formally called to the Honolulu Stake high council, a signal that he was now a member of the Church in good standing. His uncle, Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, returning from a tour of Australia and New Zealand, visited him in Honolulu the next week.⁶⁶ The following year, on July 21, 1959, Smith was released from the high council “with a vote of thanks. Brother Smith and his family

⁶³Ibid., July 10, 1957; emphasis McKay's.

⁶⁴Ibid., December 9, 1957. Joseph F. Smith's letter of confession is unavailable for review. I speculate that he probably expressed sorrow for past offenses but did not detail any specific acts.

⁶⁵Ruth Pingree Smith, Letter to David O. McKay, April 13, 1958, in “Joseph F. Smith of Honolulu” file for 1959, typed excerpts in Quinn Papers.

⁶⁶Joseph Fielding Smith Jr. and John J. Stewart, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith: Tenth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 313. While some details about the visit may be in the apostle's diary, the biography does not include any comments.

are moving to the mainland.”⁶⁷ For the next academic year, he taught at New York University, while his family lived on Long Island. The Smiths returned to Honolulu in mid-1960; and on July 19, 1960, Joseph F. was reappointed to the Honolulu Stake high council. Two years later, on August 16, 1962, he was again released, then named on September 8 as an alternate member of the high council.⁶⁸ While visiting Salt Lake City in mid-1964 to attend a daughter’s wedding, Smith suffered a heart attack and died on August 29. He was sixty-five. “Remember,” he had once counseled one of his sons, “. . . the sorrows will far outnumber the joys, but the joys will far outweigh the sorrows.”⁶⁹

Smith’s funeral was held two days later in the LDS University Ward chapel adjacent to the University of Utah campus. The speakers included Apostles Harold B. Lee and Richard L. Evans, as well as Harold H. Bennett, president of ZCMI department stores. They honored Smith’s service as Patriarch to the Church, his gifts as a speaker and writer, and his life as a teacher.⁷⁰ Today the second floor lobby at Kingsbury Hall on the University of Utah campus is named the Joseph F. Smith Legacy Gallery. Among the items of theater history on display are the black leather shoes Smith wore in 1933 when he appeared on stage in *Death Takes a Holiday*.

Following her husband’s death, Ruth Smith remained in Hawaii and continued to teach elementary school until retiring in 1970; she then taught for three additional years at Brigham Young University–Hawaii. From 1978 to 1980, she served a mission for the LDS Church in Denver, Colorado. She was an ordinance worker in the Hawaiian Temple, a guide for both the Beehive House in Salt Lake City and Pioneer Village at Lagoon Amusement Park in Farmington, Utah, and a volunteer at the Relief Society Building in Salt Lake City.

⁶⁷Honolulu, Hawaii, Stake History, July 21, 1959, notes in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation; original in LDS Church History Library.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, July 19, 1960, and August 16, 1962.

⁶⁹Joseph F. Smith quoted in Hyrum W. Smith, *Pain Is Inevitable*, 68. Hyrum W. Smith (b. 1943) was still in England on a proselytizing mission when his father passed away. In according with Church policy (then and now), he was discouraged from traveling to Utah to attend the funeral. Apostle Mark E. Petersen, who was the presiding LDS authority in Europe at the time, “shared with me things about my father that I had never known before. He helped me much better appreciate the man my father was” (73).

⁷⁰“Rites Honor Ex-Patriarch,” *Deseret News*, September 1, 1964, B-11.

She was a member of various special-interest cultural organizations and clubs. In 1991, she was diagnosed with leukemia and passed away at age eighty-five on July 22, 1992, in Centerville, Utah. In her obituary, she was memorialized for her “incredible energy, her ability to care about her family and friends, and for her indestructible testimony of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The foregoing three-part study of “Transgression in the LDS Community,” focusing in some detail on the individual cases of Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith, has been driven primarily by the belief that the reconstruction of history, including biography, benefits from unrestricted access to the past, to the full range of resources that undergird it, and to the language that best and most clearly describes it. It reflects the conviction that the greater the breadth and depth of the relevant documentary sources, the better that reconstruction. The “full truth,” noted LDS historian Ronald W. Walker reminds us, “requires the investigation into personality, psychology, physiology and health, and sexuality.”⁷² “All historians . . .,” writes Douglas F. Tobler, at the time a historian at Brigham Young University, “are morally bound to thorough, careful and fair research, to the discovery of all (or as nearly all) of facts, including errors, examples of bad judgment, misplaced zeal, sin and willful wrongdoing of every kind.”⁷³

Whatever the reason or proffered justification, tackling with less than full honesty and disclosure what some may term the “darker” episodes of the past necessarily produces, to borrow the words of Lawrence Coates, at the time a historian teaching at BYU-Idaho, “an

⁷¹Quoted in “Ruth Pingree Smith,” *Deseret News*, July 26, 1992, B-11. See also Irene M. Bates, “The Wives of the Patriarchs,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35 (Summer 2008): 105-6. Byram Browning died in 2006 at age eighty-one.

⁷²Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 137. The quotation comes from a chapter based on an essay that Walker previously published.

⁷³Douglas F. Tobler, “Sacred and Profane: Writing Mormon History in a Secular Age,” (ca. 1977), 12, privately circulated, copy in possession of the Smith-Pettit Foundation.

inaccurate and distorted record of our heritage.”⁷⁴ “All scholars worth their salt . . .,” notes John W. Welch, *BYU Studies* managing editor and professor at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, “avoid material omissions, for often what is not said can be as misleading as what is said.”⁷⁵ “Clearly,” LDS Church educator Ronald Esplin echoes, “we cannot and need not avoid mentioning the negative in Church history.”⁷⁶ For LDS Church members, in particular, this is because, as Richard E. Bennett, a professor of religion at BYU, emphasizes, “truth, not deception, is the bulwark of faith.”⁷⁷

Yet it is also true that such approaches, however responsibly approached and undertaken, are sometimes criticized as being in questionable taste or emphasizing the sensational, as trespassing on one’s personal privacy, as being excessively graphic and offensive, or as misrepresenting the very history under study. That such criticisms are most often directed at histories that address topics of a sexual nature and are rarely, if ever, directed at other equally narrowly focused studies, speaks, I believe, not so much to the specific histories in question as to the critic’s own views of human sexuality. To the extent that such criticisms distract the practice of history from fully embracing the accurate reconstruction of the past, they skew accounts of the past far more than the approaches they criticize. The writing of history must not be hobbled by attempts, however seemingly well-intentioned, to manipulate, manage, or censor the past. The aim and goal of history is to arrive at as accurate and honest a reconstruction of the past as possible.

Examining in some detail the sexual transgressions of LDS Church officials Albert Carrington, Richard R. Lyman, and Joseph F. Smith helps, I believe, to render more completely and more honestly each man’s biography as well as the history of the LDS Church at the three time periods when each served as a Church official. That these

⁷⁴Lawrence Coates, “A Response to Francis M. Gibbons’s Perspectives in Writing Biography,” *New Perspectives*, April 1999, 6.

⁷⁵John W. Welch, quoted in “Handling Sensitivities in LDS History: A Panel Discussion,” in *Telling the Story of Mormon History*, edited by William G. Hartley (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University, 2004), 42.

⁷⁶Ronald K. Esplin, “How Then Should We Write History? Another View,” *Sunstone* 7 (March-April 1982): 43.

⁷⁷Richard E. Bennett, quoted in *ibid.*, 44, 45.

men's contributions to church and society, and their personal biographies, have been overshadowed to some extent by the response to the disciplining each received for his transgression underscores the need for a full exploration of the role and function of transgression in the LDS community.

According to Leonard J. Arrington, an approach to history like that advocated here demonstrates, in part, "that people, all people, are fallible. There is no one without weakness, no one except the Savior who can claim perfection. . . . This is not a 'negative' or discouraging message; quite the contrary. For history also demonstrates that people can change and improve and that even imperfect people can accomplish much good."⁷⁸ "We don't know the whole person," adds Monte McLaws, writing in the LDS Church's *Ensign* magazine, "until we know the weaknesses and the strengths that are often only revealed through experiences some . . . consider sensitive. . . . [C]andid . . . histories may prevent the pain that occurs when we encounter evidence of human frailties that our pasteurized . . . histories have not prepared us to expect."⁷⁹

Statements such as these invite us to approach the multi-dimensional lives, including the private lives, of men and women as a whole, treating them objectively yet compassionately, with careful, nuanced attention to the choices each makes and to the attending repercussions, both "positive" and "negative." Carrington, Lyman, and Smith each crossed a boundary in their faith community intended to delineate "good" members of the Church from "bad" members. Each man struggled in his own way to respond to and make sense of his transgression and the discipline he received, eventually expressing remorse, sorrow, recommitment, and endurance until some sort of more or less satisfactory reaffiliation could be effected.

The discussion of transgression also helps to identify what it means, at various points in the historical record, to be a member of a particular community—in this case, the LDS community. Transgression, and the various responses to it, illuminates the boundaries be-

⁷⁸Leonard J. Arrington, "Learning about Ourselves through Church History," *Ensign*, September 1979, 7, 8.

⁷⁹Monte McLaws, "Family History, Warts and All," *Ensign*, April 1987, 70. While I find some inspiration in the statements of Walker, Tobler, Coates, Welch, Esplin, Bennett, Arrington, and McLaws, I realize that they may not agree with the views I express here.

tween membership and non-membership. Membership in the LDS community is not simply a matter of belief; just as importantly, behavior, as evidenced in both the public and private adherence to the Church's teachings, plays a significant and sometimes determining role as well. Each of the three cases discussed in this series points to the serious, even central, consideration afforded sexual behavior in determining membership in the LDS community. In fact, in these cases, as presumably in many similar others, behavior trumps belief. Such a focus reveals the repercussions of such seemingly single-factor-only membership rules even as it highlights the community's overriding core values.

THE WORD OF WISDOM IN ITS FIRST DECADE

Paul Y. Hoskisson

THE TRADITIONAL EXPLANATION OF HOW the Word of Wisdom was viewed by the Latter-day Saints in the first decade, 1833–43, is not always supported by the evidence.¹ As the story is usually told, the Word of Wisdom from its beginnings was given as a recommendation or a suggestion. For example, an 1885 *Millennial Star* editorial quoted the first three verses of the present Word of Wisdom and then observed: “It will thus be seen that at first the ‘Word of Wisdom’ was not given as a commandment, but subsequently the Prophet Brigham Young declared that the time had come when the Lord required obedience to the principle as a positive command from Him, and that the Saints would no longer be justified in disobeying

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¹In addition to sources cited elsewhere in this article, see the Appendix for other useful references.

it on account of the very mild manner in which it was first presented to the Church.”²

In short, the Word of Wisdom is seen as a wise recommendation that gained authoritative weight as time went on. Leonard Arrington sums up this view: “Taking the 1830s and 1840s as a whole . . . there is considerable evidence that many Mormon leaders and members believed that the Word of Wisdom meant only a piece of good advice and nothing more.”³ Thomas G. Alexander agrees: “Some members or groups committed themselves to strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom, but they were doing so as individuals.”⁴ As the traditional telling of the story continues, only after the Nauvoo period were the first attempts made to require compliance. Candidates for requiring strict adherence are, most popularly, Brigham Young, Joseph F. Smith, and Heber J. Grant.⁵

However, I will present evidence that paints a different picture than this traditional view. In fact, the data presented here strongly suggest that, in the first seven to eight years following the revelation of the Word of Wisdom, the official standard of the Church was one of strict abstinence that would be familiar to Saints today. With two exceptions discussed below, from at least 1833 in Kirtland and beginning in 1837 in Missouri, abstinence from tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol was made a test of worthiness to hold an office and to be a member in good standing. In fact, as John A. Widtsoe and Leah D. Widtsoe argued in the 1930s, it can be said that “the history of the Church shows clearly that [the Word of Wisdom] has been regarded as a law by all of the sustained leaders of the Church. In the early days of the Church, men were suspended from office because they were breakers of the Word of Wisdom; others were excommunicated because of

²“The ‘Word of Wisdom,’” *Millennial Star* 47, no. 38 (September 21, 1885): 600.

³Leonard J. Arrington, “An Economic Interpretation of the ‘Word of Wisdom,’” *BYU Studies* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1959): 40.

⁴Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 259.

⁵Paul H. Peterson and Ronald W. Walker, “Brigham Young’s Word of Wisdom Legacy,” *BYU Studies* 42, nos. 3–4 (2003): 29, 55. See also Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 261. Tracing the post-Joseph Smith history of the Word of Wisdom lies outside the scope of this paper.

continued disregard of the Lord's law of health."⁶

In addressing this thesis, I will first present a short review of what it means "to keep the Word of Wisdom." After that, I will explore the following topics: (1) the relationship between the received text of the Word of Wisdom and the first three verses (i.e., the "caption"); (2) a history of the first three verses; (3) evidence from official sources about how the Word of Wisdom was received in Kirtland; (4) corroborating evidence from Kirtland units and branches dependent on Kirtland; (5) documentation about how the Word of Wisdom was regarded in Missouri; (6) occasional attempts in Nauvoo to require adherence to the Word of Wisdom; and finally, (7) three hypotheses about why in Nauvoo "the somewhat strict prohibitions of the 1830s regarding the use of alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee among the Mormons [eroded] away, as moderation rather than abstinence became the major concern."⁷

Underlying these discussions is the crucial question of terminology. Some of the words that are used in nineteenth-century records are still current among us, but the concepts do not always correspond exactly. It requires alertness to note the evolutions in meaning and implications over time. I am unaware of any study comparing nineteenth-century LDS ecclesiastical terms with current usage. What follows is my attempt to make sense of the historical documents that I have studied in preparing this article. For example, though roughly similar to the current terms "disciplined," "disfellowshipped," and "excommunicated," nineteenth-century terms such as "having one's

⁶John A. Widtsoe and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Word of Wisdom: A Modern Interpretation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1937), 26, 28. Commenting on the introduction ("to be sent greeting; not by commandment or constraint"), they state: "Mankind is never compelled or 'constrained' to accept or obey the words that come from the Lord. . . . Even when the Lord says, 'I command', it is a statement of cause and effect. . . . As far as [Joseph Smith] was concerned, [the Word of Wisdom] was 'to be sent greeting,' as are all the commandments of the Lord" (25–26).

⁷Paul H. Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), 36. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 259, states, "In general, however, adherence in the sense of abstaining from tea, coffee, liquor, and tobacco was honored as much in the breach as in the observance by leaders and members alike, particularly after 1840."

license withdrawn,” “not fellowshipped,” and “cut off” from the Church, respectively, have a slightly different semantic meaning and applicable range. Withdrawing an elder’s “license” approximates today’s revocation of a temple recommend and/or being denied the privilege of holding an office in the Church. This type of disciplinary action would be somewhere between today’s formal probation and being disfellowshipped. “Not fellowshipped” in those days was most often used by a priesthood quorum to discipline a quorum member but could also be exercised by what we would call a ward, branch, or group. (Church units in Kirtland and Missouri were most often referred to as branches; actual wards, corresponding to today’s units, did not come into being until the Saints were in Utah, although the term was used in Nauvoo to designate geographical units organized to supply tithing labor and in Winter Quarters to organize charitable efforts.) In effect, having fellowship withdrawn meant that the member was barred from active participation in the quorum or church unit. Thus, “not fellowshipped” was close to excommunication but did not quite represent the severing of formal ties to the Church that excommunication does today.

However, the term “being cut off” means being excommunicated from the Church. Still, some nuances make the term subtly different from today’s understanding. “Excommunication in the 1830s was different in some respects to its seriousness and current consequences,” Milton Backman has observed.⁸ Often, disciplinary actions, such as excommunication and disfellowshipping, were taken against Church members in an attempt to shock them back into compliance with the current policies of Church leaders; they could thus be seen as more like a formal reprimand than a permanent mark on Church records.⁹ Being “cut off” in those days ranged in significance from a severe rebuke to an attempt to eliminate all formal contact that a member might have with the Church. But correspondingly, repentance, forgiveness, and rebaptism could follow readily and quickly.

⁸Milton V. Backman Jr., personal conversation with Paul Hoskisson in the mid-1980s. I wrote down his statement at the time and later asked him to verify its accuracy, which he did. He confirmed its accuracy again on August 23, 2011, in a phone conversation.

⁹Alexander L. Baugh, personal conversation with Paul Hoskisson several years ago, and confirmed again August 24, 2011.

“KEEPING THE WORD OF WISDOM”

In proposing this thesis of strictness in Kirtland, variability in Missouri, and a more relaxed approach in Nauvoo, I am not suggesting that a consistent and thoroughgoing single standard applied between 1833 and 1843. In fact, leniency and patience in dealing with Word of Wisdom offenders was the norm, as it is today, with the most severe reprimands being reserved for those guilty of public intoxication and illegal activities. Nevertheless, the proclaimed standard for everyone, both in official pronouncements and in the criteria used in disciplinary instances, was abstinence.

However, the Kirtland Saints recognized two exceptions to abstinence from prohibited substances. Today we have entirely eliminated one of the official exceptions and have greatly limited the other exception. The first is the provision in the Word of Wisdom for the use of “wine . . . in assembling yourselves together to offer up your sacraments before [God]. And behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine of the grape of the vine, of your own make” (D&C 89:5–6). On the basis of this instruction, Latter-day Saints were certainly justified in using wine for the sacrament even after receiving the Word of Wisdom on February 27, 1833. Almost three years earlier in August 1830, the Saints had been taught that “it mattereth not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink when ye partake of the sacrament” (D&C 27:2). Therefore, even before the Word of Wisdom was given, the door had been opened for the use of liquids other than wine, including the now-standard water.¹⁰

Doctrine and Covenants 27:2 and 89:5–6 notwithstanding, there is no record of any liquid other than wine or juice ever being used in

¹⁰*History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. rev., edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973 printing), 1:108, makes it clear that the Saints did not immediately begin using water for the sacrament after receiving the revelation in Section 27: “In obedience to the above commandment, we prepared some wine of our own making, and held our meeting. . . . We partook together of the Sacrament.” Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting for Joseph Smith’s Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009), 64, citing Elizabeth Ann Whitney, “A Leaf from an Autobiography,” *Woman’s Exponent* 7, no. 9 (October 1, 1878): 71, states: “The Whitneys also provided sacramental wine, made from Ann’s red currents, for the first sacrament service and at many subsequent Kirtland sacramental services.” *History of the Church*,

the sacrament in the Prophet's lifetime, though perhaps further research will produce evidence for the early use of water. Writing in 1839, John Corrill, a disaffected member of the Church at the time, provides a detailed description that does not mention water: "The sacrament was administered on every first day, (Sabbath), by a high priest or an elder. Bread and wine are used as emblems, but for wine they prefer the pure juice of the grape when they can get it."¹¹ Arrington has claimed that in December 1836 "the church congregation voted a pledge of total abstinence from intoxicants after which water was used in the Lord's Supper."¹² Arrington cites Matthias F. Cowley for his source, but the Cowley passage, a paraphrase of Wilford Woodruff's journal, does not mention water at all.¹³ In fact, the point of the cited passage in Woodruff's journal is that "wine at the Sacraments" was an authorized exception to total abstinence from alcohol.¹⁴ No other substitute for wine is mentioned.

Others have claimed that water was used in this early period, but the evidence does not justify any firm conclusion. Joseph Fielding Smith states that "as far as our record shows water was first used in the Kirtland Temple in the solemn assemblies held there."¹⁵ I could find no source for Joseph Fielding Smith's claim except B. H. Roberts's editorial footnote to the record of a meeting in the Kirtland Temple on

7:271-72, reports Addison Pratt's experience in 1844 as a missionary to the "Society Islands": "I administered the sacrament. For wine I substituted coconut milk, that was a pure beverage, which never had come to the open air till we broke the nut for that purpose."

¹¹John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, (Commonly Called Mormons;) Including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline; with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church* (St. Louis: printed for the author, 1839), 47.

¹²Arrington, "An Economic Interpretation of the 'Word of Wisdom,'" 40.

¹³Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 65. The wording in this edition is identical to the first edition (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1909), 65.

¹⁴Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 1:110-11.

¹⁵Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 3:2 note 2.

April 6, 1837, which mentions “bread and water.” Roberts states: “This is the first occasion on record where water was used instead of wine.”¹⁶ In point of fact, the relevant passage in the *History of the Church*, reads, “At half-past five, bread and water were distributed liberally among the quorums, and it was truly a refreshing season to spirit and body. Many brethren and sisters assembled in the evening for prayer and exhortation, and some tarried nearly all night.” Although Roberts assumes that the “bread and water” were part of a sacrament administration, the passage itself does not say so, and the description of the all-day meeting equally suggests that the “bread and water” were a “refreshment,” not an ordinance. The meeting had begun “at an early hour” and had continued all day, and for some would go late into the night.¹⁷ Therefore, the bread and water were more likely a shared evening meal, rather than the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper.

This incident is very similar to another meeting in the Kirtland Temple about a year earlier, on March 30, 1836, during the dedication festivities. The meeting had started at 8:00 A.M. and would last about twenty-four hours. Late in the afternoon, Joseph Smith

ascended the pulpit and remarked to the congregation that we had passed through many trials and afflictions since the organization of this church and that this is a year of Jubilee to us and a time of rejoicing, and that it was expedient for us to prepare bread and wine sufficient to make our hearts glad, as we should not probably leave this house until morning; to this end we should call on the brethren to make a contribution, the stewards passed round and took up a liberal contribution and messengers were dispatched for bread and wine.

The items were fetched about 7:00 P.M., and Joseph continued: “I observed that we had fasted all the day, and lest we faint; as the Saviour did so shall we do on this occasion, we shall bless the bread and give it to the 12 and they to the multitude, after which we shall bless the wine and do likewise.”¹⁸ The allusion is clearly to the Savior’s feeding of the five thousand (Matt. 14:15–21). Again, as in the New Testament, the “bread and wine” are not specifically singled out as part of an ordi-

¹⁶*History of the Church*, 2:480 and footnote.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 2:475–80.

¹⁸Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 214–15.

nance; but on this solemn occasion, the implication is present, particularly since the Twelve Apostles were assigned to distribute the bread and wine, a practice that was common during the administration of the sacrament during Brigham Young's presidency.

I have not found a clear date when Section 27 became the doctrinal foundation, not only for using water, but for excluding wine.¹⁹ Instead, I have found examples throughout the nineteenth century of the use of both wine and water for the sacrament. On July 3, 1845, William Clayton noted that the General Authorities "decided to employ Brother [Isaac] Morley to make 100 barrels of wine for sacrament."²⁰ John Henry Smith records on April 9, 1890, the provision of wine for the sacrament in a meeting of Quorum of Twelve, but "water and not wine" at a meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve on July 5, 1906.²¹ During 1890–92, Apostle Abraham H. Cannon's journal mentions the use of wine in the Lord's Supper at meetings of the Twelve.²² And in 1899, according to James E. Talmage, "In the vineyard districts of the Church territory, wine has been generally used."²³

Thus, the choice of water or wine in the nineteenth century seems to have depended more on the availability of wine produced by Latter-day Saints than on any perceived restrictions based on the Word of Wisdom. This exception to abstinence from alcohol, however, is more complicated than admitting that wine was allowed when celebrating the Lord's Supper. Early Church records indicate that the ordinance of the administration of the bread and wine was referred to in the singular, such as "the sacrament," or "the Eucharist" or "the

¹⁹On July 19, 1863, Heber C. Kimball, at Brigham Young's prompting, explained to the congregation that water was used in the sacrament instead of wine because of Section 27. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 10:245. See also Brigham Young, August 19, 1877, *ibid.*, 19:92.

²⁰George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 171–72.

²¹Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 235, 570.

²²Dennis B. Horne, ed., *An Apostle's Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon* (Clearfield, Utah: Gnolaum Books, 2004), 147, 158, 226.

²³James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1899), 180. The 1919 edition was the last edition of *The Articles of Faith* that contained this statement.

Lord's Supper."²⁴ The Word of Wisdom, however, uses the plural form "sacraments," not the singular "sacrament." In other words, it is possible that the words "only in . . . your sacraments" may have been more inclusive than just the ordinance of bread and wine. For instance, Doctrine and Covenants 59:12 speaks of "thine oblations and thy sacraments," as if more than just the Lord's Supper was included.

It cannot be expected that the informal and formal records kept by the Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century would consistently refer to "the sacrament" in the singular. However, the use of the singular for the Lord's Supper and use of the plural "sacraments" for several ordinances, including the Lord's Supper, would be consistent with general English usage in Joseph Smith's day. As documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "sacrament" did not exclusively refer to the Eucharist. Rather it was "used as the common name for certain solemn ceremonies or religious acts belonging to the institutions of the Christian church." That is, "sacrament" would be used when Latter-day Saints today would say "ordinance(s)." Indeed, the meaning would not even have been confined to the seven ordinances traditionally recognized by Christians; rather, "[sacrament] could be applied in a more general sense to certain other rites."²⁵ In accord with general English usage, "sacraments" (plural) could well refer to almost any solemn, religiously or communally significant occasion, but especially to religious rites such as baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, ordination, and marriage.

Therefore, it is entirely possible that reading "sacraments" in Section 89 as meaning "the Lord's Supper" exclusively is an anachronism. Indeed, to refer to the use of wine in the "sacraments" as an exception to the Word of Wisdom (which specifically allows the sacramental use of wine) may well be a double anachronism. What this means is that, during Joseph Smith's lifetime, using wine or another alcoholic beverage during any solemn occasion cannot be viewed a priori as violating the Word of Wisdom. For example, Zebedee Coltrin remembered that the sacrament was administered at School of the

²⁴Under the dateline, "Kirtland, Ohio, March 27th 1836" [report of the Kirtland Temple dedication], *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 6 (March 1836): 281a, reports: "The Eucharist was administered." When this report was printed in the *History of the Church*, 2:427, "the Eucharist" became "the Lord's Supper."

²⁵*Oxford English Dictionary*, CD-ROM edition, s.v., "sacrament."

Prophets meetings in 1833, explaining that “at times when Joseph appointed, after the ancient order; that is, warm bread to break easy was provided and broken into pieces as large as my fist and each person had a glass of wine and sat and ate the bread and drank the wine; and Joseph said that was the way that Jesus and his disciples partook of the bread and wine.”²⁶ As another example, it was entirely appropriate during the Kirtland Temple dedication on March 27, 1836, that, in celebrating “the Lord’s Supper,” “the bread and the wine” were blessed and were “distributed by several Elders to the Church.”²⁷

Thus, it is clear that the Kirtland Saints were sanctioned in making an exception to total abstinence by the Word of Wisdom itself. Wine was acceptable for solemn occasions, especially for the Lord’s Supper. This exception no longer exists in current Latter-day Saint practice.

In contrast, the second exception—the use of prohibited substances for health and medical reasons—is not justified by the Word of Wisdom. However, it reflects the general attitude in the United States that almost universally accepted the medicinal use of alcohol. In fact, during the Kirtland and Missouri period, the Word of Wisdom in general was never promoted as a health code, though some individuals mention the promises contained therein. As far as I can determine, the first explicit, public promotion of the Word of Wisdom as a health code was made by Hyrum Smith in 1842 in Nauvoo, some time after the standard of abstinence set in the Kirtland period had been relaxed.²⁸

On February 15, 1841, the Nauvoo City Council passed an ordinance banning the sale of alcohol in quarts or larger containers, except when a doctor required it, presumably for medicinal purposes. Joseph Smith noted: “In the discussion of the foregoing bill, I spoke at

²⁶“S L School of the Prophets Minute Book,” October 3, 1883, in Merle H. Graffman, ed., *Salt Lake School of the Prophets: Minute Book 1883* (Palm Desert, Calif.: ULC Press, 1981), 38. The minute book is in the LDS Church History Library.

²⁷*History of the Church*, 2:427. For the use of wine in other Kirtland meetings, see *ibid.*, January 23, 1833, 1:324; May 11, 1834, 2:65; January 24, 1836, 2:385; February 7, 1836, 2:393; March 29, 1836, 2:430; March 30, 1836, 2:431.

²⁸“Word of Wisdom,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 15 (June 1, 1842): 799–801. Joseph Smith was the editor for this edition.

great length on the use of liquors, and showed that they were unnecessary, and operate as a poison in the stomach, and that roots and herbs can be found to effect all necessary purposes.”²⁹ While this statement disallows medicinal alcohol, it falls short of endorsing the Word of Wisdom as a health code.

It should not, however, be assumed that by “liquors” Joseph Smith meant only distilled alcohol (although in this case he probably did). While the modern definition of “liquor” normally means “an alcoholic beverage made by distillation rather than by fermentation,”³⁰ this has not always been the case. Historically, “liquor” has traditionally included “liquid for drinking; beverage, drink,” and specifically, “a drink produced by fermentation or distillation,” including “ale, beer, porter, etc.” On the other hand, “spirituous liquor” meant a “liquor produced by distillation.”³¹ When Joseph specifically meant fermented drinks, he called them “vinous liquors.”³² Therefore, though the Nauvoo city ordinance in question seems to have been aimed at distilled drinks (“whiskey” and “spirituous liquors”), when it is used without qualification, it could mean either distilled or fermented drinks. In fact, Church records and members’ journals from the Kirtland and Missouri period seem to reflect an understanding in the Church that the medicinal use of coffee, tea, and alcohol (but not tobacco) was acceptable.³³ There were even occasions when prohibited substances were recommended for health reasons. (See the section on Nauvoo below.) Though I have no supporting documentation, I would not be surprised to find some Church members during Joseph Smith’s lifetime citing health reasons to justify their use of tobacco.

The medicinal exceptions to the Word of Wisdom continued

²⁹*History of the Church*, 4:299.

³⁰*American Heritage Dictionary* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), s.v. “liquor.”

³¹*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “liquor.”

³²*History of the Church*, 4:383.

³³According to Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 23–24, “While the Saints opposed the common use of tea and coffee, it would appear that they had little objection to its occasional use for medicinal purposes. . . . While the general use of whiskey and liquor was contrary to the principle, many Saints felt these beverages had redeeming medicinal qualities.”

for the rest of the nineteenth century. Daniel H. Wells remarked on September 29, 1861, to a congregation in the Bowery: "I have no objection to our keeping things in our possession that are necessary for sickness, but let the whisky and the tobacco be put to their legitimate uses, then all will be right."³⁴ Six years later, on April 7, 1867, speaking in the same location, Wilford Woodruff said it even more clearly: "Lay aside whisky, tobacco, tea, and coffee, and use none of them unless it be as a medicine."³⁵ In Salt Lake City at a meeting of the "School of the Prophets" on November 11, 1872, Brigham Young stated that "the Word of Wisdom consists in taking that which his [Young's] system required when it is needed," the example being, "if he were to feel as tired when he got home as when he came here [presumably the School of the Prophets], and he were to take a brandy sling, the Lord would bless it to him." Daniel H. Wells, in the same meeting, declared that a certain member of the Church "had been in the habit of unwisely drinking strong coffee and other beverages." When he abruptly quit their use, "he sickened and died. This was not wisdom." Wells added that he himself had been given "a strong drink of Brandy" when he had been injured by a fall with the result that he "experienced no ill effects" from the fall. "This was medicine."³⁶

Even as late as the 1950s and early 1960s, I can remember faithful Latter-day Saints speaking of the medicinal use of tea and coffee. I have also heard anecdotal reports that some members continued to excuse their use of alcohol for medicinal purposes well into the second half of the twentieth century. Certainly statements about the medicinal value of prohibited substances reflect the generally held beliefs of members in Kirtland, Missouri, and Illinois.

Today in the Church the medical justification for breaking the Word of Wisdom has been severely restricted. I have not yet determined just when the medicinal loophole was tightened. Neither am I aware of any official Church prohibition today against legitimate medicines that contain the same active ingredients that are found in coffee, tea, and alcohol. Nevertheless, the point can be made that the

³⁴Daniel H. Wells, September 29, 1861, *Journal of Discourses*, 9:184b.

³⁵Wilford Woodruff, April 7, 1867, *Journal of Discourses*, 11:370a.

³⁶"S L. School of the Prophets," November 11, 1872, from a photocopy of a typescript of the minutes in my possession, p. 314. The original is in the LDS Church History Library. This quotation does not appear in the Graffam edition.

earliest documented attempt to eliminate the health reason for taking prohibited substances came in December 1836 in Kirtland. Yet two years later in Missouri, Oliver Cowdery defended his tea-drinking on the grounds that he was ill and the topic did not come up again, even when he was tried for his membership.

In short, from the date the Word of Wisdom was received in 1833, until at least the end of the nineteenth century, the Church seems to have implicitly or explicitly recognized two exceptions to strict abstinence—sacramental and medicinal—both of which were eventually eliminated or severely restricted. I will now provide evidence that, except for these two exclusions, the Kirtland standard of abstinence was identical to our modern standard.

THE TEXT OF THE WORD OF WISDOM

Any discussion of how to understand compliance with the Word of Wisdom must begin with examining the text itself. Indeed, the strongest argument for the binding nature of the Word of Wisdom from the first day it was revealed, February 27, 1833, is the text itself. In the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, the revelation begins with our present verse 4. The first three verses of Section 89 in our present editions originally comprised a caption spatially separated from the rest of the section and usually set in a different font type (discussed below in “History of the First Three Verses”). If the Word of Wisdom is read starting with verse 4, as the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants reads, it begins: “Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord, . . . I have warned you, and forewarn you, by giving unto you this word of wisdom by revelation.” Read thus, without any foreknowledge of how the Word of Wisdom has been interpreted through the years, any reader would have to conclude that these words introduce God’s will for His people and that what follows is not simply a nice suggestion.

Not only does an unprejudiced reading of the Word of Wisdom in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants designate it as a commandment, when the wording of the revelation is compared with other revelations in the book, the evidence is even stronger. Within the wider context of the Doctrine and Covenants, the phrase “verily, thus saith the Lord” is used thirty-six times and always introduces commandments, instructions, or commentary, but never a “suggestion.” A few examples will suffice:

The commandment to pay tithes begins: “Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to be put into the hands of

the bishop. . . . And this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people" (D&C 119:1–3). A revelation to David W. Patten, president of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1838, reads: "Verily thus saith the Lord: It is wisdom in my servant David W. Patten, that he settle up all his business as soon as he possibly can, and make a disposition of his merchandise, that he may perform a mission unto me next spring" (D&C 114:1–2). The use of "wisdom" in this commandment is a significant link to Section 89.

Lyman Sherman received comfort and encouragement along with a commandment, introduced by the same phrase, "Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Lyman: Your sins are forgiven you, . . . let your soul be at rest concerning your spiritual standing, and resist no more my voice. And arise up and be more careful henceforth in observing your vows" (D&C 108:1–3).

Therefore, a plain reading of the Word of Wisdom, especially in the larger context of the Doctrine and Covenants, is that the Word of Wisdom is God's will for the Latter-day Saints. Indeed, it would be difficult to escape the conclusion that the Lord intended the Word of Wisdom to be a commandment from the beginning—and not just a suggestion.

Apparently, Brigham Young viewed it as a commandment because, as Church president, he introduced steps to require it. At a gathering of the members of the Church on September 7, 1851, it was resolved that the Saints would "leave off using tea, coffee, tobacco, snuff, and whiskey." In introducing this resolution for the members' vote, Brigham Young allowed no room to interpret it as a "recommendation." Instead he threatened "to cut off from the Church" the members "who would not keep the Word of Wisdom."³⁷ Indeed, in the previous year, during a meeting of the members of the Church in April 1850 in the Bowery, Brigham Young had already staked out his position: "I tell you one thing if we obey the word of the L[or]d got to quit

³⁷"History of the Church, 1839–circa 1882," Vol. 21, p. 66 (original title is "History of Brigham Young"), in *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), vol. 1, DVD #2. The minutes of a conference on September 22, 1851, stated, "The conference voted to observe the words of wisdom, and particularly to dispense with the use of tea, coffee, snuff, and tobacco" (96).

drinking whiskey tea coffee tobacco.”³⁸ Therefore, rather than seeing the 1851 resolution as the first fitful effort to begin enforcing the Word of Wisdom, it should be seen as a return to the Kirtland position of strict abstinence and to a plain reading of the revelation, even if these post-Nauvoo resolutions did not seem to stick.³⁹

One of the most telling indications that the Word of Wisdom revelation began with the present verse 4 is the lack of evidence to the contrary. Normally, negative evidence is not compelling. But in this case, if the present first three verses (the “caption”) had been understood as part of the revelation, then likely they would have been quoted, paraphrased, or appealed to at some point. However, I have found no evidence dating from Joseph Smith’s lifetime that these first three verses were ever mentioned or cited for any reason, let alone as an excuse for not abstaining. It is not until the 1850s that any official record of the Church refers to these first three verses—and then it is as a paraphrase.⁴⁰

HISTORY OF THE FIRST THREE VERSES

If the Word of Wisdom were intended as a commandment from the beginning, and the present first three verses were not viewed as part of the revelation, where did they come from and why? Clyde Ford’s hypothesis that the Word of Wisdom “may have been derived from three originally separate revelations”⁴¹ might seem promising on the surface, but eventually proves unhelpful. Although his theory helps explain several minor points, each of these points can be ex-

³⁸Minutes of General Conference, April 6–7, 1850, Miscellaneous Minutes, LDS Church History Library. My thanks to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher for this quotation.

³⁹Robert J. McCue, “Did the Word of Wisdom Become a Commandment in 1851?” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 66–77. This article contains little about pre-1851 practice.

⁴⁰See “Word of Wisdom,” *Millennial Star* 16, no. 19 (May 13, 1854): 289, “Keep the Word of Wisdom. It was given for this very purpose, not by commandment nor by constraint, but by revelation, showing forth the will of God. It claims to be given ‘for a principle with promise.’” See also George Q. Cannon, July 25, 1880, *Journal of Discourses*, 22:105: “When I see our people . . . flying in the face of the counsel which God has given unto us in that Word of Wisdom, I get exceedingly amazed.”

⁴¹Clyde Ford, “The Origin of the Word of Wisdom,” *Journal of Mor-*

plained by other means. More significantly though, there is no evidence of earlier, separate documents that contain significant parts of his suggested three sections of the Word of Wisdom.

In contrast, Zebedee Coltrin, though some fifty years after the fact, remembered: "The Word of Wisdom was first presented by the Prophet Joseph (as he came out of the translating room) and [it] was read to the School."⁴² This wording implies that what Joseph read was the entire document. Of course, such a reading would not preclude the possibility that he had cobbled together three earlier revelations. However, in all other instances of revelations being combined to form one longer section in the Doctrine and Covenants, the process is well documented and the original, separate documents survive. No such documentation exists for the Word of Wisdom.

Though a definitive source for the first three verses may not be possible, a clue—though a rather tenuous one—does exist in the minutes of a meeting of the bishoprics of Salt Lake City on October 12, 1851, called by the presiding bishop, Edward Hunter. No doubt Brigham Young's threat five weeks earlier to excommunicate those who did not keep the Word of Wisdom precipitated a question from Bishop Reuben Miller, whether "the observance of the Word of Wisdom shall be a Test of fellowship" (emphasis in the original)—meaning, should a member's status in the Church be contingent on keeping the Word of Wisdom? During the course of the discussion, an unnamed bishopric counselor stated "that where the Word of Wisdom was first given it was then made a Test of fellowship. Refereed [sic] to the case of Zerrubabel Snow who was cut off from the Church for taking a cup of Tea while on a Mission—that Joseph, said the Caption to the Word of Wisdom was put their [sic] . . . not by his Consent and that it was just as binding as any other commandment."⁴³

From that point, the discussion ranged widely. Other participants expressed doubt about requiring a strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom. Despite the resolution of September 7, Bishop Hunter concluded the discussion by stating "that as for making it a Test of fel-

mon History 24, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 129–54. The quotation is on p. 131.

⁴²Graffman, *Salt Lake School of the Prophets*, 37.

⁴³"Record of Bishops Meetings, Reports, of Wards Ordinations, Instructions and General Proceedings of the Bishops and Lesser Priesthood," 1851–84, LDS Church History Library. I gratefully acknowledge Lyndon Cook for giving me the reference to these minutes.

lowship he could not at present decide but it is our duty to use all the wisdom we can in all things. As much as possible observe the Word of Wisdom.”⁴⁴

How accurate is the report of this unnamed counselor? As a first point, I have not been able to confirm that Zerubbabel Snow was ever excommunicated. He was ordained an elder on August 23, 1832, in Kirtland and left on his first mission (of three) the next day. He participated in Zion’s Camp in 1834, was ordained a Seventy, and, most significantly at a time when the feud between the Church and the federal government was taking shape, was appointed a district court judge in 1851, the first (and often only) Mormon to sit on the territorial bench.⁴⁵ The second problem with the counselor’s statement is that I could find no direct evidence of his assertion that the Prophet disapproved of the caption. Nevertheless, his assertion, though perhaps inaccurate, should be given some credence.

The best evidence that the first three verses (the caption in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants) were not viewed as part of the original revelation and that the ameliorating words “not by commandment or constraint” should be ignored in favor of seeing the revelation as an authoritative commandment comes from the earliest versions of the Word of Wisdom. In addition to the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants that physically separates the caption from the revelation, most copies of the Word of Wisdom made between 1833 and 1869 follow the same model of physically setting off the caption from the rest of the text. Not until the 1876 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants was the caption moved down to become the first three verses. I will begin presenting the evidence with the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants.

It seems likely to me that Joseph Smith approved the published version of the Word of Wisdom in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, with the current first three verses as a set-off caption, and equally likely that, if the caption had been part of the original revelation, he would have insisted that it appear as part of the revelation (as in current editions of the Doctrine and Covenants)—not separated from the text.

Did someone other than the Prophet insist that the revelation be softened by a mitigating introduction? There is no documentation

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Journal History, August 24, 1832, 1, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 2, DVD #1; *History of the Church*, 1:332, 2:64, 139, 2:204; *Deseret News* November 15, 1851, 3.

of such a debate, compromise, or composition of the introduction. Between September 24, 1834, when the Doctrine and Covenants publication committee formally began its work and the summer of 1835 when the completed work went to typesetting, Joseph Smith had ample time and authority to influence the printed form in which the Word of Wisdom appeared.⁴⁶ Therefore, I accept in theory that Joseph approved placing the words of the current first three verses in the caption and setting them off in italic type, thus indicating that they were not contiguous with the revelation.

All subsequent printings of the Doctrine and Covenants through the 1869 edition continued to set the caption off in a different type font, often italic, and with a space separating it from the text of the revelation. The Word of Wisdom was also published in the *Millennial Star* in 1841 and in the *Deseret News* in 1850. In both cases, the caption is italicized and separated by a white space from the text of the revelation.⁴⁷

The only known printed version of the Word of Wisdom that predates the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is a handbill printed in December 1833 or January 1834. Here, the caption (not in italics) appears in a paragraph separated by space from the text of the revela-

⁴⁶Oliver Cowdery and Sidney Rigdon were ordained April 19, 1834, to work on a new publication tentatively called "the Book of Covenants." *History of the Church*, 2:51. I thank my colleague Noel B. Reynolds for calling my attention to this ordination. In the meantime, Joseph Smith led Zion's Camp to Missouri. Therefore, the more formal work did not begin until September 24, 1834, when Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams formed a committee to produce the "Book of Covenants." *History of the Church*, 2:165.

⁴⁷"A Word of Wisdom," *Millennial Star* 1, no. 9 (January 1841): 226; "A Word of Wisdom," *Deseret News* December 28, 1850, 180b-c.; "A Word of Wisdom," *Millennial Star* 12, no. 4 (February 15, 1850): 59; and "Word of Wisdom," *ibid.*, 14, no. 1 (January 1, 1852): 5. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1965 printing), 1:305, in publishing the text of the Word of Wisdom, separated the caption from the rest of the revelation by putting it in italics, just like the editions of the Doctrine and Covenants between 1835 and 1869. When Roberts first published his history in 1912, he chose to ignore the canonized change made thirty-six years earlier when the caption was printed for the first time as the first three verses in the 1876 Doctrine and Covenants. By 1876, the Word of Wisdom had long been emphasized but not generally enforced.

tion.⁴⁸ However, this handbill, in addition to the Word of Wisdom, also presents Section 88:1–126, neither of which contains a second type font.

While all early printed versions uniformly separate the caption from the revelation in one or more ways, early handwritten copies are less consistent. The earliest, official, extant copy of the Word of Wisdom, found in the “Book of Commandments,” Book B, was recorded probably between June 1833 and June 1834.⁴⁹ It sets off the caption with a long line (much longer than the dashes that otherwise appear in the text) and begins the revelation on a new line and with a capital letter: “Behold verily thus saith the Lord.” No other paragraphs are indicated in the rest of the revelation.⁵⁰ The “Kirtland Revelation Book,” assembled before August 18, 1834, in Kirtland, does not distinguish between the caption and the revelation, nor does it break the text into paragraphs.⁵¹ (The “Kirtland Revelation Book” almost never makes paragraphs within a revelation.) Unlike the “Kirtland Revelation Book,” the “Manuscript History of the Church,” both Book A–1 (dating to the early 1840s and nominally under the direction of the Prophet Joseph Smith) and Book A–2 (completed before February 4, 1846) separate the caption from the text with white space.⁵² In the earlier of the two, Book A–1, the scribe’s handwriting in this section of the history slants to the right, but in contrast, he has

⁴⁸Handbill, December 1833 or January 1834, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections). This item is the only surviving copy of which I am aware. See also Robert J. Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 2:1173.

⁴⁹Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” 2:1172.

⁵⁰“Book of Commandments,” Book B, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #19, not paginated; by my count on pp. 113–15. This handwritten book should not be confused with the 1833 published *Book of Commandments*.

⁵¹“Kirtland Revelation Book,” 49–51, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #19.

⁵²The Word of Wisdom is in “Manuscript History of the Church,” Book A–1, Vol. 1, pp. 275–77, LDS Church History Library. Book A–1 can also be found in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #1. Book A–2, also in the

written the caption with almost vertical strokes. The caption is not numbered and the rest of the text is divided into three numbered verses, exactly like the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, indicating that the scribe of Book A-1 probably intended his copy to mimic, as much as possible, the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. Book A-2 follows Book A-1 in all respects, except that the scribe made no attempt to use a different ductus for the caption.

The only known, early, unofficial copy does not distinguish between the caption and the rest of the revelation. This handwritten copy appears on the second page after p. 160 in the blank pages at the back of Wilford Woodruff's 1833 *Book of Commandments*.⁵³ Woodruff probably could not have recorded the Word of Wisdom in his copy of the *Book of Commandments* before the December 1833/January 1834 appearance of the handbill. It would have taken several months for the unbound sheets of the *Book of Commandments* to make their way to Kirtland after the destruction of the press in Independence in the summer of 1833. For Wilford to have obtained a complete set and then to have had the sheets bound into a book would have also taken some time. But he certainly had his copy bound before September 1835 when the new Doctrine and Covenants began to become available. He does not date his copy, but he arrived in Kirtland on April 25, 1834, and almost certainly copied it after that date. If he had copied the revelation from the handbill, which would have been available in early 1834 (a few months before he arrived in Kirtland), he might have made a distinction between the caption and revelation. But if he copied the Word of Wisdom from the "Kirtland Revelation Book," which did not make a distinction, then his copy would read as it now does—without a separation.

In summary, it seems clear that, during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph Smith and for another three decades, attempts were made to distinguish between the caption and the rest of the revelation. I conclude,

LDS Church History Library, is not in *Selected Collections*. The antecedents of Book A-1 were begun in 1838, and again in 1839, but the part containing Section 89 was probably not written until sometime between December 1842 and May 1843. Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 4 (Summer 1971): 464–66. For the completion of Book A-2 before February 4, 1846, see p. 469.

⁵³Wilford Woodruff's personal copy is housed in the LDS Church History Library.

therefore, that it was not part of the original revelation but that Joseph, for unknown reasons, allowed or perhaps even wrote the introduction with mitigating language to appear as a separate headnote.

THE WORD OF WISDOM'S RECEPTION IN KIRTLAND

If the Word of Wisdom as received in 1833 was issued as a commandment and if the first three verses were not viewed as part of the revelation, then the historical record should show that Church members considered it binding on them. This is precisely the case in Kirtland. Except for sacramental wine and the medicinal exception for prohibited substances, the official position of Church authorities in Ohio called for adherence to the Word of Wisdom at the same level required today—that is, to hold an office or to be a member in good standing required strict abstinence from tea, coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. To be sure, some in Kirtland, like some today, wanted to be stricter and called for making the Word of Wisdom a “test of fellowship,” meaning in those days, excommunication for those who did not keep it. At the other extreme were those who opposed the Word of Wisdom as a binding commandment. Nevertheless, the official records of the Church in Kirtland are unequivocal that the Church staked out a position between these two extremes.

On February 12, 1834, less than a year after the Word of Wisdom was received, the first Church disciplinary council was held for violating the Word of Wisdom: “Brother Leonard Rich was called in question for transgressing the Word of Wisdom, and for selling the revelations at an extortionate price while he was journeying east with Father Lyon. Brother Rich confessed, and the council forgave him upon his promising to do better and reform his life.”⁵⁴ That the Word of Wisdom formed part of the accusation suggests that the Kirtland High Council considered the Word of Wisdom binding even before any official statement to that effect had been pronounced. In addition, the fact that breaking the Word of Wisdom was the first of the two charges suggests the seriousness with which the Word of Wisdom was understood. Nevertheless, leniency seems to have been the rule of the day if the offender confessed and expressed proper contrition.

⁵⁴*History of the Church*, 2:27. Leonard Rich was ordained one of the seven presidents of the Seventy on February 28, 1835. *History of the Church*, 2:203. However, by October 1845 he had apostatized and was working actively against the Church. *History of the Church*, 7:484.

An official pronouncement was not long in coming. Eight days after this first council, on February 20, 1834, the Kirtland High Council issued the first official statement of which I am aware. The issue was precipitated because “some members of the church refused to partake of the Sacrament, because the Elders administering it did not observe the Word of Wisdom to obey it.”⁵⁵ (The case arose in the LDS branch in Springfield, Pennsylvania, an indication of how far preaching about the Word of Wisdom had spread within the year after its reception.) This problem would have been a non-issue were the Word of Wisdom simply a “suggestion.” Either the Springfield members must have been taught about it as a commandment or they had read “Verily, thus saith the Lord” and concluded that it was a commandment. They seem to have been unaware of the mitigation suggested by the caption.

Unable to resolve the issue locally, branch leaders consulted the Kirtland High Council and Joseph Smith. It may be significant that the offenders were “Elders.” Although this office was relatively important in the government of the early Church, it does not necessarily identify a presiding authority, especially since more than one man was involved. This fact suggests that members expected that all priesthood officials, not just the presiding official, should live the Word of Wisdom.

While considering this case, the Kirtland High Council reframed the issue into the more general and far-reaching question: “Whether disobedience to the Word of Wisdom was a transgression sufficient to deprive an official member from holding an office in the Church, after having it sufficiently taught him.” After discussion, the Prophet Joseph Smith proposed a resolution that, for all intents and purposes, is identical to the current Church position: “No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office after having the word of wisdom properly taught to him, and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with, or obey them.”⁵⁶ The resolution was “confirmed by vote” of the high council.⁵⁷ It is clear from this statement that members who did not keep the Word of Wisdom were not to hold an office or a calling in the Church. This blanket policy is the

⁵⁵*History of the Church*, 2:34–35. The original minutes have slight variations in spellings and phrasings. “Kirtland High Council Minutes,” February 20, 1834, 39–40 (also called the “Kirtland Council Minutes Book”), in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #19,

⁵⁶“Kirtland High Council Minutes,” 39–40.

⁵⁷*History of the Church*, 2:35. The “Kirtland High Council Minutes,”

standard used today. However, this policy may not have been published, leaving its dissemination to word of mouth.

Even if a person's membership was not jeopardized by not keeping the Word of Wisdom, the resolution must have had at least some bearing on two more cases that the high council heard that year. In what was probably the first case, John Murdock recorded in his journal on March 4, 1834, that a disciplinary council convened in Kirtland at the home of a member named Orton in order to consider the case of another Church member. Witnesses testified that the member "waked (sic) disorderly & made too free a use of Strong drink. And the church lifted their hands against him & he was disfellowshipped."⁵⁸ Though "too free a use" could indicate that this member's drinking might have been tolerated if he had exercised more control, the fact that he was disfellowshipped (almost the equivalent of excommunication in this case) is another indication of how seriously the Word of Wisdom was being taken.

In the second recorded Kirtland case for that year, Joseph Smith's brother-in-law, Wilkins Jenkins Salisbury, "was expelled from the church for intemperance." No more precise date is given than 1834.⁵⁹ His case would never have been brought before a disciplinary council if the Word of Wisdom were not considered a binding commandment. He was reinstated by early 1835, but disciplined again on May 16, 1836, for neglecting his family, alcohol abuse, and being unfaithful to his wife. He admitted that he had a "propensity for tale-bearing, and drinking strong drink, but denied the other charges."⁶⁰ The council revoked "his elder's license and excommunicated" him.⁶¹ Supposing that he was not guilty of neglecting his family and of being unfaithful, as he claimed, means he was excommunicated for "tale-bearing" and drinking alcohol.

On August 19, 1835, Almon W. Babbitt was brought before the Kirtland High Council (note the order of the charges) "for not keep-

40, read: "the counsellors voted according to the same."

⁵⁸John Murdock, Journal, March 4, 1834, unpaginated but page 52 by my count, holograph in the LDS Church History Library.

⁵⁹According to Kyle R. Walker, "Katharine Smith Salisbury: Sister to the Prophet," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 5–34, Salisbury was a known alcoholic. See p. 29 note 39 for the date of his excommunication.

⁶⁰*History of the Church*, 2:442.

⁶¹Walker, "Katharine Smith Salisbury," 11.

ing the Word of Wisdom; for stating the Book of Mormon was not essential to our salvation, and that we have no articles of faith except the Bible." The fact that the Word of Wisdom was mentioned first indicates that it was perhaps more serious than the other accusations. After Babbitt admitted that he was wrong, the council reproved him and instructed him, among other things, "to observe the Word of Wisdom, and commandments of the Lord in all things."⁶² Though Babbitt did not lose his official standing in the Church, perhaps because he confessed and seemed contrite, the fact that he was charged with breaking the Word of Wisdom at all confirms the seriousness with which it was understood in Kirtland.

Other examples from the Kirtland sphere of influence could be added of individuals who were tried and/or excommunicated in 1835 for not keeping the Word of Wisdom and not "keeping covenant." Though keeping the Word of Wisdom and "keeping covenant" may seem like separate issues, a late reminiscence connects the two in the Kirtland period. Ruth W. Tyler wrote in 1884 that "about the year 1835" she came to know the Hunting family, whose son John was "a raving maniac for sixteen years. . . . The family was called upon to covenant to keep the commandments of God, especially the Word of Wisdom [which they did agree to do, with the result that the son was healed]. . . . After a time the family began to indulge in those things they had covenanted not to touch, thereby becoming covenant-breakers, and Satan took advantage of this. . . . And the man who had been so miraculously healed died a raving maniac."⁶³

In a different version of the same incident, Zerah Pulsipher recorded that he was asked to help a family whose grown son was given to such violent outbreaks that the family usually kept him tied up in the barn. Father Joseph Smith Sr. was consulted, and he told them "to get seven elders of good report and fast and pray till he was delivered." Zerah recalled that they "consulted with the family, who had not kept the word of wisdom, but they agreed to do it." Whereupon, the man was unbound, administered to, and did not have another "raving spell after that for six months. Then the devil entered him again. We were called for the second time. The family had promised to keep the covenants [i.e., the Word of Wisdom], but we found they

⁶²*History of the Church*, 2:252.

⁶³Ruth W. Tyler, "A Manifestation of God's Power through Fasting and Prayer," *Juvenile Instructor* 19, no. 6 (March 15, 1884): 91.

had returned to the old practice of breaking the word of wisdom. We therefore sent a message to Father Smith, and he said if they would not keep the covenants we might go about our business and let them all go to hell together.”⁶⁴

These two versions of this same incident illustrate both the seriousness with which the Word of Wisdom was understood in Kirtland and also the connection between “keeping the Word of Wisdom” and “keeping the covenants.” As I will demonstrate below, the elders sent out from Kirtland to preach in various outlying branches of the Church often pledged members of the branches to keep the Word of Wisdom, that is, to covenant to keep it. Reports were sent back to Kirtland of these pledges.

This link between “covenant breaking” and not keeping the Word of Wisdom helps explain two other excommunications in 1835. During a conference held in Freedom, New York, on April 3–4, 1835, “Elder Chester L. Heath, of Avon, was expelled from the Church, for breach of covenant, and not observing the Word of Wisdom.”⁶⁵ On June 6, 1835, “Elder Milo Hays was tried for not obeying the Word of Wisdom, and for covenant breaking. Both charges were sustained by testimony, and Elder Hays was excluded from the Church.”⁶⁶ Although in both cases the wording of the charges would allow a separation of “not obeying the Word of Wisdom” and “covenant breaking,” in the context of the times (the Harding case and the pledges of branches of the Church to keep the Word of Wisdom, discussed below), it is most likely that the two were tied together.

The relationship between worthiness and keeping the Word of Wisdom continued to remain an issue even after the clearly worded 1834 official statement. An unsigned article in the November 1836 *Messenger and Advocate*, then under the nominal control of Joseph Smith,⁶⁷ stated: “As we have frequent applications . . . for advice [concerning how strictly the Word of Wisdom should be taken] . . . we have thought proper, that the churches need not be deceived.” Then fol-

⁶⁴“History of Zerah Pulsipher as Written by Himself,” n.d., typescript, 1958, 17–19, Perry Special Collections.

⁶⁵*History of the Church*, 2:218.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 2:228.

⁶⁷Though the *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 2 (November 1836): 416, lists Oliver Cowdery as the “editor and proprietor,” he probably did not write this open letter to the Church because he himself, at least in 1837, was

lows the text of the 1834 resolution articulated by the Prophet and affirmed by the Kirtland High Council: "No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office after having the word of wisdom properly taught to him, and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with, or obey them."⁶⁸ This official publication indicates, first, that the question of adherence to the Word of Wisdom was still being discussed, and second, that good standing and holding office required compliance.

Although the official policy was now publicly available, in May 1837, an unsigned lengthy editorial in the *Messenger and Advocate*, still under the nominal control of Joseph Smith, addressed the issue.⁶⁹ Taken in isolation, some of the statements in this editorial do not appear as strong as the previous positions. However, taken in context, the statements are actually more strongly worded than either the 1834 or the 1836 proclamation:

We publish below some resolutions drawn up and approved by the quorum of Seventies and their Presidents. We are pleased with them, because we admire strict discipline, and because we believe them in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the revelations given for the direction of the saints. We certainly have no fellowship for those who live in the daily violation of the plain, written commands of God; and we are sure the Lord will withhold entirely or withdraw his spirit, from all such as disobey or disregard his precepts. . . . And most assuredly, as the Lord liveth and reigneth, we do know, that he who lives in daily neglect of the solemn acts of devotion, he who knowingly violates the words of wisdom⁷⁰ which the Lord has given, sets at nought [sic] the counsels of the Most High, disregards the commands which he has given for the benefit and government of his saints, becomes weak in the faith once delivered to them, and unless he speedily repent and reform,

not keeping the Word of Wisdom strictly. It is doubtful if such a general epistle, as will be quoted, could have been published without Joseph's approval.

⁶⁸"To the Churches of Latter Day Saints," *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 2 (November 1836): 412.

⁶⁹William Marks is listed as the "proprietor" of this issue. *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 8 (May 1837): 512.

⁷⁰Note that the "Kirtland High Council Minutes," 40, also use "words of wisdom" to refer to the Word of Wisdom in its formulation of the February 20, 1834, statement quoted above.

he will apostatize and fall away. We speak definitely and pointedly on this subject, because we feel the weight and importance of it. If, as the Lord has said, strong drinks are not to be taken internally, can those who use them thus be held guiltless? We ask, if hot drinks are not to be used, if those who make use of them do not transgress his commands, or at least set at nought his counsel? Most assuredly they do. Have not the authorities of the church in council assembled in this place, decided deliberately and positively that if any official member of this church shall violate or in any wise disregard the words of wisdom which the Lord has given for the benefit of his saints, he shall lose his office? What official member does not know this? Brethren, either we believe this to be a revelation from God, or we do not. . . . You may plead former habits, as an extenuation of your guilt, but we ask if the Almighty did not know your habits and the propensities of your nature? Certainly he did. Has he made any exceptions in your case, or are you wiser than he? judge ye. These, to many, may appear like small items; but to us, any transgression of the commands of God, or a disregard of what he has said, is evincive of a determination to gratify our own corrupt vitiated taste, the word of the Lord to the contrary notwithstanding.⁷¹

This message is more detailed and more strongly worded than any previous pronouncement: The Word of Wisdom is a revelation that must be obeyed; anyone who disregards it “disregards the commands” of God and “shall lose his office.” There is no mention here of the mitigating language of the caption in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. The standard enunciated here is compliance to a revelation that was considered a test of worthiness for holding office in the Church. As a matter of Church policy, this 1837 announcement in the official Church publication is unequivocal, precise, and strident.

In a move that would be repeated in Missouri a month later, the Kirtland High Council voted on October 23, 1837, to “discountenance the use of ardent spirits in any way to sell or to be brought into this place for sale or use.” They also “appointed Luke S. Johnson, Reynolds Cahoon, and John Gould a committee to visit John Johnson, Jun., and see if he would desist from selling spirituous liquors to those who were in the habit of getting intoxicated, and report to the authorities of the Church those members who might drink spirits at

⁷¹“To Our Readers,” *Messenger and Advocate*, 3, no. 8 (May 1837): 510–11.

his house.”⁷² If the Word of Wisdom were not viewed as binding on the members, there would have been little reason for the Kirtland High Council to pursue this course, especially in asking for the names of Church members who were violating the Word of Wisdom’s prohibition against alcohol.

In summary, then, from the time the Word of Wisdom was received, a series of pronouncements and disciplinary actions make its status as a binding commandment clear. No member could hold an office or be in good standing in the Church who did not keep it. This is the same standard that is used in the Church today.

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE IN THE KIRTLAND PERIOD

In addition to general Church councils and official Church publications in Kirtland, the priesthood quorums of the Church in Kirtland also understood the Word of Wisdom as binding. All of the priesthood quorums in Kirtland, for which there is evidence, made it clear that keeping the Word of Wisdom was required to be in “fellowship” (i.e., good standing) in the quorum.

The distinction of being the first priesthood quorum in Kirtland to act on a violation of the Word of Wisdom falls to the teachers’ quorum which, until Brigham Young’s priesthood reforms of 1877, consisted primarily of adult males. On Christmas Day 1834, the Kirtland teachers’ quorum “appointed brothers John Taylor and Benjamin Johnson to labor with Orra Cartwright for making use of tobacco.”⁷³ This official attempt to correct a quorum member is yet another indication of how seriously the Word of Wisdom was taken. Unfortunately, the minutes have no further report about their success; but if later actions of this quorum are any indication, Cartwright would have been disfellowshipped if he had continued to use tobacco.

About a year and a half later, on June 4, 1836, the teachers’ quorum “resolved that the teachers labor with their boddie [the members of the quorum] and return such as will not keep the word of wisdom [inkblot] and report them at the next meeting.” It is evident from this 1836 incident that the 1834 attempt to discipline Cartwright was not an isolated and premature instance of enforcing the Word of Wis-

⁷²*History of the Church*, 2:520. John Johnson Jr. ran a “hotel.”

⁷³Teachers Quorum Minute Book, December 5, 1834–February 12, 1845, first page, LDS Church History Library. The name could be “Orva”; the handwriting is not clear.

dom. Again unfortunately, the subsequent minutes do not report what happened to members who continued to violate the Word of Wisdom.

However, less than two years later in Far West, the teachers' quorum minutes record, as its fourth item of business on March 31, 1838, "that we will not hold any one in our quorum in fellowship who will not observe the word of wisdom in as much as our circumstances will admit of." The reference to "circumstances" may hint at the medical exception allowed for tea, coffee, and alcohol. I read this resolution by the teachers' quorum as a continuation of the same attitudes and understandings that they had developed in Kirtland, especially since the general attitude among Church members in Missouri toward the Word of Wisdom was quite lax.

Though existing records of the two Melchizedek Priesthood quorums in Kirtland show no formal attempts to enforce the Word of Wisdom as early as the teachers' quorum, when they did take action, they were even more exacting. On July 30, 1837, the seventies quorum in Kirtland met "to get the minds of the corum respecting the course to be persued with those who do not appear to live in faithfull discharge of duty." On the list of dereliction, Word of Wisdom violations were the second item discussed. The quorum voted to "withdraw fellowship from all those of the corums who do not observe the word of wisdom so far as not to recognize them as preachers of the gospel."⁷⁴ Though today we do not have an exactly equivalent sanction, at the time, missionaries went out with "licenses" allowing them to formally represent the Church. Thus, "not recognizing them as preachers" would be analogous to withdrawing a temple recommend. This action on the part of the Seventies in 1837 is completely congruous with the consequences that would ensue today for a member violating the Word of Wisdom, namely, depending on the individual, anything from being released from office to being formally disfellowshipped.

The elders' quorum in Kirtland took similar action only four months later. On October 29, 1837, as the first item of business, they determined "by unanimous vote that all the Elders that traveled to preach Should observe and teach the Word of wisdom to others or be

⁷⁴Seventies Book A," July 30, 1837, 31–32, LDS Church History Library.

reported to the Elders quorum and their License be Demanded.”⁷⁵ So far, I have found no examples of enforcement by this elders’ quorum. Today the Church does not excommunicate people for not keeping the Word of Wisdom, although full-time missionaries would be sent home for the same offense. The requirement that the elders not only keep but also teach the Word of Wisdom probably indicates that some elders were reluctant to preach it. (That many did preach it can be seen below when I discuss the reports that were sent back to Kirtland by the elders and printed, as early as August 1834, in the *Evening and the Morning Star*.) Additional resolutions followed in 1838 in both Melchizedek Priesthood quorums.

With persecution of the Church building during the fall of 1837, and intensifying in the first months of 1838, the exodus of the Saints from Kirtland became imminent. This time the issue in the quorums was, among other practical concerns, how compliance with the Word of Wisdom would affect going to Zion. In a move that clearly was meant to make the Word of Wisdom a test for good standing among its members wanting to leave for Missouri, the elders quorum in Kirtland on February 26, 1838, voted “that no one should have a letter of recommendation to go to Zion [Missouri] unless they kept the word of wisdom.”⁷⁶ This resolution, coming four months after requiring its members to adhere to and teach the Word of Wisdom, is clearly a continuation of that policy, but this resolution intensified the need for compliance. Not going to Zion meant, in essence, exile from the community of Saints.

The next month on March 13, 1838, the Seventies in Kirtland also took action to make compliance with the Word of Wisdom a test for good standing in their quorum. On this occasion they accepted the draft of a constitution that would govern the organized exodus en masse of the Seventies from Kirtland. (Later elders and others were allowed to sign on if they endorsed the constitution.) This exodus became known as “Kirtland Camp.” Article 2 of the constitution states that the “tentmen” who were appointed to take charge of each tent during the journey “shall see that cleanliness, and decency, are observed in all cases, the [comm]andments kept; and the word of wisdom heeded, that is, no tobacco, tea, coffee, snuff, [nor] ardent spir-

⁷⁵Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders’ Quorum Record, 1836–1841* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Books, 1985), 33.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, February 26, 1838, 40.

its, of any kind taken internally.”⁷⁷

This wording stressing total abstinence is consonant with the strictness with which the Word of Wisdom had been understood in Kirtland up to that date and is entirely consonant with today’s standards. This declaration should also remove any doubts that abstinence was the standard. However, in giving advice to the Seventies quorum during one of their meetings, Hyrum Smith, perhaps worried that being too severe would offend people and drive them from the Church, cautioned the Seventies “not to be too particular in regard to the Word of Wisdom.”⁷⁸ Hyrum’s compassionate advice on this occasion was obviously an acknowledgement of the exigencies of evacuation, since his later stand on the Word of Wisdom in Nauvoo was, in every way, “particular.” (See the section below on Nauvoo.)

However, the Seventies quorum sought to enforce a strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom during their preparations and subsequent move to Missouri. In what appears to have been the first of two copies made of the constitution, space was left for recording the names of those who had signed on to Kirtland Camp. The constitution and the names are recorded in ink. By three of the names someone has written in pencil “disobey word of wisdom.” These penciled remarks do not appear in the second copy of the draft of the constitution nor in printed versions of the list. This notation was possibly a clerk’s entry, added after the meeting was held in which the constitution was accepted by vote, or perhaps it was added after a subsequent meeting in which the worthiness of those who had signed on to Kirtland Camp was discussed.⁷⁹ In either case, the notations must have been made before Kirtland Camp left Kirtland. Indeed, the

⁷⁷“Kirtland Camp (Organization), Constitution, 1838 Mar 13,” LDS Church History Library. A pencilled title on the holograph reads “Articelle of rule of Zions Camp of Seventies in Kirtland in 1838.” I have taken this quotation from the apparent original draft of the constitution which has a damaged left margin; I have made the bracketed emendations based on two other handwritten copies, both of them apparently created within a few days of the original. They contain minor variations and a list of the names of those signing on to Kirtland Camp. The version of the constitution in *History of the Church*, 3:90–93, apparently was taken from the second of these later copies.

⁷⁸*History of the Church*, 3:95.

penciled comments are a contemporary witness of the strictness with which the leaders of the Seventies quorum regarded the Word of Wisdom.

Subsequent entries in the records of Kirtland Camp after it left Kirtland attest to serious enforcement of Article 2. For example, on August 16, 1838, G. W. Brooks and his nonmember wife were brought before the camp leaders because she “had used tea most of the time on the road and used profane language.” Mrs. Brooks expressed no remorse, declaring “she would still pursue the same course and it was not in the power of her husband or the council to stop it. She further said that she was not a member of the Church and did not expect to come under the rules of the camp.” Technically she was correct that she was not under the same ecclesiastical restrictions as the Church members were. But her husband had signed up and he had agreed to abide by the constitution. Therefore, the leaders “severely reprimanded” Brooks “for not keeping his tent in order according to the constitution of the camp and not keeping his family in subjection as a man of God especially as an elder in Israel,”⁸⁰ and then expelled both of them from the camp.

Another example of follow-through in enforcing the Word of Wisdom during Kirtland Camp came nine days later on August 25, when “Elder McArthur” and his council “were directed to go to Brother Nickersons tent and set it [in] order fo[r] breaking the word of wisdom and disbelief in some of the revelations.” One of the members that Brother Nickerson, as “tentman,” was responsible for, John Rulison, had not been observing the Word of Wisdom. As a result, “John Rulison was turned out of the camp.”⁸¹ This incident clearly establishes the importance attached to keeping the Word of Wisdom by the leaders of Kirtland Camp.

⁷⁹One of the members, Benjamin Butterfield, who had the notation “disobey word of wisdom” penciled by his name, left the camp July 10, returned on July 15, but left again the next day “in ill humor and went off by himself.” See the entries for July 10, 15, and 16. *History of the Church*, 3:103–4, 108, mentions Butterfield’s coming and goings but does not give a reason.

⁸⁰“Kirtland Camp, Journal, 1838 Mar-Oct,” Thursday, August 16, 1838,” LDS Church History Library. It is titled in pencil: “Journal of the camp of Seventies during their journey from Kirt to Farwest—1838.” A printed version appears in *History of the Church*, 3:127–28, 131.

However, expelling a family from a wagon train because a non-member spouse drank tea or expelling a man because he did not keep the Word of Wisdom may seem, from our contemporary point of view, an overreaction. While the 1834 resolution removed violators from office and left their standing in the Church in question, it did not automatically expel them from Church activities. Yet this strictness during Kirtland Camp does not seem excessively harsh in the context of the official Church position in Kirtland outlined above. Indeed, if requiring adherence to the Word of Wisdom had not already been widely accepted by the Church in Kirtland, it would be difficult to explain how a priesthood quorum could invent, unanimously accept, and later enforce a resolution requiring total abstinence from “tobacco, tea, coffee, snuff, [or] ardent spirits, of any kind taken internally.”

In summary, the actions of the three priesthood quorums in Kirtland for which minutes exist provide evidence that the quorums accepted the standard of abstinence from these prohibited substances and, furthermore, that the Seventies quorum felt justified in expelling unrepentant violators from their midst.

In addition to the examples from the priesthood quorums, reports from branches that took their cue from Kirtland and numerous anecdotes by individuals also confirm the binding nature of the Word of Wisdom. In 1848, Hiram Page, by then disaffected, complained that “the word of wisdom was harped upon for 2 years to my certain knowledge.”⁸² Though there is evidence that the Word of Wisdom was occasionally mentioned in Nauvoo (see section below), it was certainly never “harped upon” in Nauvoo. Therefore, his mention of two years of “harping” must date to the 1833–38 period in Ohio and confirms the efficacy of the official pronouncements quoted above.

Perhaps the most important reminiscence about the beginnings of the Word of Wisdom is that of Joel Hills Johnson, published

⁸¹“Kirtland Camp, Journal,” Saturday, August 25, 1838.

⁸²Hiram Page, Letter to W[illia]m [McLellen], February 2, 1848, photocopy of a typescript in my possession. Richard Lloyd Anderson in the summer of 2011 and Scott H. Faulring in about 1990 confirmed in separate conversations to me that “Wm” was William McLellen. Both also mentioned that the letter, originally in the Community of Christ Archives, Independence, disappeared at some point after the typescript copies had been made.

forty-eight years later. I find him credible because (1) he was an eyewitness to these beginnings, (2) he recorded his memories during a period when compliance with the Word of Wisdom was only occasionally discussed and almost never enforced, and (3) his recollections confirm other sources that testify to the strictness with which the Word of Wisdom was observed in Kirtland. Johnson stated:

I was with Joseph Smith, the Prophet, when the Word of Wisdom was given by revelation from the Lord, February 27, 1833, and, I think, I am the only man now living who was present. I was then thirty one years of age, and had used tobacco somewhat extravagantly for fifteen years. I always used some strong drink, and tea and coffee. I knew that God had spoken and condemned the use of these things, and, being determined to live by every word that proceeded from His mouth, I laid them all aside, and have not used them since. I well remember that, soon after the publication of the Word of Wisdom, the same excuse was made, by some of the people, for drinking tea and coffee that is now made—that hot drinks did not mean tea and coffee. On a Sabbath day, in the July following the giving of the revelation, when both Joseph and Hyrum Smith were in the stand, the Prophet said to the Saints: “I understand that some of the people are excusing themselves in using tea and coffee, because the Lord only said ‘hot drinks’ in the revelation of the Word of Wisdom. The Lord was showing us what was good for man to eat and drink. Now what do we drink when we take our meals? Tea and coffee. Is it not? Yes; tea and coffee. Then they are what the Lord meant when He said ‘hot drinks.’” Brother Hyrum Smith spoke to the same effect.⁸³

Clearly, Joel Johnson understood that “God had spoken and condemned the use” of prohibited substances. And where there was confusion about what those substances were, namely, “hot drinks,” the Prophet and his brother had clarified the revelation within months of its reception.

Zebedee Coltrin’s 1883 recollections to the Salt Lake School of the Prophets about the introduction of the Word of Wisdom, although given fifty years after the fact, reinforce the other documents establishing an expectation of strict observance. Again, this view does not reflect the attitude toward the Word of Wisdom then current in

⁸³Joel H. Johnson, *Voice from the Mountains: Being a Testimony of the Truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 12.

Utah. Coltrin reported that “those who gave up using tobacco eased off on licorice root, but there was no easing off on Tea and Coffee; these they had to give up straight or their fellowship was jeopardized.”⁸⁴ Coltrin also recounted in a different meeting of the Salt Lake School of the Prophets that when Joseph Smith read the revelation aloud to the Kirtland School of the Prophets, “there were twenty out of the twenty-one who used tobacco and they all immediately threw their tobacco and pi[p]les into the fire.”⁸⁵ If the Word of Wisdom had been understood as a mere suggestion, there would have been no need to immediately discard their paraphernalia.

Later recollections suggest that, less than three months after the Word of Wisdom was received, abstinence was being preached outside of Kirtland. George A. Smith, then almost 16 years old, arrived in Kirtland on May 25, 1833, with a group of Saints, among whom was the Brown family. Joseph Smith took the Brown “family home with him—his [Joseph’s] Wife asked Sister Brown if she would like a cup of tea or coffee after her long journey. . . . [The Browns] afterwards apostatized, assigning as a reason that the Prophet’s Wife had offered them tea & coffee, <which was contrary> to the word of wisdom, & that they had actually seen the prophet leave <come down out of> the translating room and go to play with this children.”⁸⁶

Since the Browns had apparently not yet spent even one night in Kirtland and therefore could not have been instructed there about the Word of Wisdom, they must have learned about it before arriving in Kirtland. Certainly, as George A. tells the story, they understood that abstinence from at least tea and coffee was required. The point here is not the distorted view that the Browns had about a prophet and his wife. Nor is the point that Emma Smith may have considered tea or coffee to be both hospitality and medical restoratives for the Browns after their long journey. Rather, the point is that, within three months of the revelation’s reception, the family from outside Kirtland understood it both as an expectation of abstinence and as a commandment. Perhaps the Browns had been part of a temperance movement before joining the Church; still, they clearly expected

⁸⁴“S L School of the Prophets Minute Book,” October 11, 1883, 68.

⁸⁵Ibid., October 3, 1883, 56.

⁸⁶“History of George A. Smith,” in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #32, p. 10; words in angle brackets added interlinearly. See also George A. Smith, March 18, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:214.

other Church members (including the Prophet's wife) to be keeping the Word of Wisdom.

As another example, Elizabeth Beswick Tanner and her husband, John, were baptized in Lake George, New York, on September 17, 1833. Before the summer of 1834 while they were still in New York State, she and John heard the Word of Wisdom preached and promptly "discarded the use of tea, coffee, and spirituous liquors, he [John] being strenuous in observing all the laws of the Church."⁸⁷ This example again demonstrates, first, that they received it as a commandment, not as a recommendation, and second, that it was being preached, presumably by Mormon elders, far from Kirtland.

W. W. Phelps, writing from Kirtland to his wife, Sally, in Missouri on May 26, 1835, declared, "You are not aware how much sameness there is among the Saints in Kirtland. They keep the Word of Wisdom in Kirtland; they drink cold water and don't even mention tea and coffee."⁸⁸ Phelps's letter again confirms that at least tea and coffee were strictly prohibited and, second, his mention of "sameness" suggests general compliance in 1835, not an isolated phenomenon practiced by a few overzealous members.

Joseph Smith Sr., acting in his office as Patriarch to the Church, gave thirteen recorded patriarchal blessings between July 31, 1835, and December 5, 1837, that stressed the importance of keeping the Word of Wisdom. Three representative samples will provide the flavor of his messages. On May 2, 1836, William Harris was instructed: "Thou must keep the word of wisdom and observe all the commandments, and thou shalt have all the blessings thou canst ask for thyself or for thy posterity."⁸⁹ Note that the Word of Wisdom is not equated with "the commandments" but seems to be given equal status with "the commandments." Lamira Corkins was told in 1836 (exact date

⁸⁷"Autobiography of Elizabeth Beswick Tanner," typescript of an autobiography originally written in 1884, 1-2, Perry Special Collections. "Sketch of an Elder's Life," *Scraps of Biography*, Tenth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883), 11-12, reports: "As soon as the 'Word of Wisdom' was made known to him [John Tanner], he quit the use of tobacco, tea, coffee and also the use of liquor, and never used them again during the remainder of his life."

⁸⁸W. W. Phelps, Letter to Sally Waterman Phelps, May 26, 1835, LDS Church History Library.

⁸⁹H. Michael Marquardt, comp., *Early Patriarchal Blessings of the*

not given), "Keep thou the word of wisdom, & satan shall have no power over thee."⁹⁰ Flora Jacobs's blessing on June 13, 1837, emphasizes the Word of Wisdom even more strongly: "This is thy blessing I seal it on thy head It is given thee on conditions of keeping the commandments and the word of wisdom."⁹¹

As mentioned above, there seems to have been a concerted effort during the Kirtland period to commit the members in various outlying branches to keep the Word of Wisdom. These efforts explain the content of the stewardship reports that were sent back to Kirtland by the elders sent out to preach the gospel and admonish the members. Sylvester B. Stoddard wrote from Saco, Maine, that, during a conference held on June 14, 1834, the first and therefore probably the most important item of business in one session was the Word of Wisdom. "It was then motioned and seconded that the elders, priests, teachers, and deacons in this conference, abide by the word of wisdom and passed by a unanimous vote."⁹² John F. Boynton reported similarly that, about two weeks later in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, the members "unanimously voted to keep the Word of Wisdom."⁹³

Though not reported in the Kirtland period Church publications, William E. McLellen wrote in his journal for June 1835 that the "Sackets Harbour" branch in New York "did not as a body pay any respect to the words of wisdom."⁹⁴ His noting of noncompliance in a branch dependent on Kirtland is analogous to the reports of other traveling elders published in the Kirtland Church periodicals of the

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007), 69. My appreciation to Lavina Fielding Anderson for calling my attention to these patriarchal blessings. Marquardt notes that not all blessings were recorded, so the thirteen I found should be considered a minimum number.

⁹⁰Ibid., 113.

⁹¹Ibid., 166.

⁹²"Minutes of the Conference in Maine," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 23 (August 1834): 181.

⁹³"Brother O. Cowdery," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2, no. 24 (September 1834): 191.

⁹⁴Jan Shippo and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellen, 1831-1836* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 183.

1830s and indicates the seriousness with which William E. McLellin took the Word of Wisdom in those years.

In November 1836, missionary Daniel Stephens reported that he and two other elders working in Hadam (now Haddam), Connecticut, “established a church of saints containing a dozen members, who were determined not only to keep the word of wisdom, securing to themselves health and strength; yea, even great treasures of knowledge, but were determined to keep the commandments.”⁹⁵ It would seem from the language Daniel used that he not only committed the members in Hadam to keep the Word of Wisdom, but that the members also understood its promises and blessings.⁹⁶ As far as I can determine, this report from Connecticut is the first Church record to mention the Word of Wisdom’s health benefits, even though much of the general health literature of the day extolled the health benefits of moderate use of or abstinence from coffee, tea, tobacco, and alcohol. For example, the *Messenger and Advocate* for March 1835 quoted a non-LDS source as having “advocated the principle of water drinking, by endeavoring to prove that Tea and Coffee never afforded any nutriment to the human system.” The article went on to disparage tobacco use, “What do you say reader, on the subject of Tobacco? Do you think that there is much real nutriment to be gained from that pleasant weed? Besides it adds so gracefully to one’s appearance, to have a large piece in one’s mouth, or to emit large quantities of smoke from a pipe or cigar!”⁹⁷

In June 1837 elders from Kirtland organized a conference in West Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. In writing back to Kirtland they reported that, of its thirty members, “it appeared . . . that but very few among them observed the word of wisdom. After some remarks from the Elders, and also from President [Sylvester B.] Stoddard on the importance of observing the word of wisdom, and also of

⁹⁵Daniel Stephens, “Letter to Friends in the East,” *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 2 (November 1836): 414.

⁹⁶For a recent summary of health literature in the United States as it relates to the Word of Wisdom, see my article, “Different and Unique: The Word of Wisdom in the Historical, Cultural, and Social Setting of the 1830s,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 41–61.

⁹⁷*Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 6 (March 1835): 95. The passage appears near the bottom of the first column and begins “The People’s Magazine, by Samuel Coleman.”

keeping all the commandments of God, the church almost or quite unanimously covenanted to keep the word of wisdom in future and to perform such duties as were binding upon them.”⁹⁸ If abstinence were not intended by the words “observing the word of wisdom,” it would be hard to explain the “almost or quite unanimous” vote.

While traveling to the conference just mentioned in West Township, George A. Smith passed through Suffield, Ohio, and “found a small church of eight members, who, he believes, were obeying the word of wisdom.”⁹⁹ The Word of Wisdom is the only criterion of faithfulness on the part of the eight Latter-day Saints in Suffield that he mentions. If the Word of Wisdom were not considered binding, then there would have been little need to mention it at all.

Two months later, the *Messenger and Advocate* reports a conference of elders in New Hampshire on August 26–27, 1837: “The subject of the word of wisdom was introduced and after many able remarks from the Chair, and elders J. C. Snow, W. Farr and A. Butler the conference unanimously voted to abide by the word of wisdom excepting two, and they felt determined to try.”¹⁰⁰ If the Kirtland standard described above were in operation, then “abiding by the Word of Wisdom” would have meant abstinence and would account for the two members who could not immediately commit to keeping it. If abstinence were not included in “abide,” then it would be hard to explain why two members could only commit themselves to “try.”

The importance of keeping the Word of Wisdom can also be traced to England. In June 1837, Heber C. Kimball and other apostles left Kirtland, arriving on July 18 in Liverpool. By December, buoyed by their success, they held the first conference of Latter-day Saints outside North America, convening on Christmas day in Preston. Heber Kimball reported that “the Word of Wisdom was first publicly taught in that country; having previously taught it more by example than precept; and, from my own observation afterwards, I am happy to state that it was almost universally attended to by the brethren.”

⁹⁸“Minutes of a Conference of Elders held in West Township, Columbiana Co. O. commencing Friday, June 16, 1837,” *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 9 (June 1837): 526.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰“Minutes of a Conference of the elders of the church of Latter Day Saints, held in Lyman, Grafton, Co.—N.H. on the 26 and 27 of Aug. 1837,” *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 11 (June 1837): 559–60.

The only other matters covered were “principles of the gospel” and “several duties enjoined upon” the brethren.¹⁰¹ The fact that the Word of Wisdom is the only specific doctrine mentioned indicates how seriously Kimball and the other apostles took it. The members also seemed to have immediately grasped its importance and “almost universally attended” to it. Clearly, it was more than a suggestion.

British convert George Morris recorded: “Before I was baptized I walked eight miles to attend a fast meeting held by the Saints in the carpenters hall in Manchester, fasted, and at four o’clock in the afternoon they had what they called a tea party [to break their fast]. But there was no tea there; they had hot water with plenty of good cream and sugar and plenty of something good to eat. I partook with them as though I had been one of them, and felt in my heart that it was the richest feast in my life, and the best company that I had ever enjoyed.”¹⁰²

Predictably, some of the overzealous in Britain wanted to make adherence to the Word of Wisdom a test of membership. Eli B. Kelsey stated in 1850 that “during the infancy of the church in the British Isles some, in their too great zeal, made it a test of membership, and endeavoured to lord it over their brother’s conscience, when the Lord had said that it was ‘not given by commandment or constraint, but as a word of wisdom.’”¹⁰³ Obviously, the individuals who threatened excommunication for not complying with the Word of Wisdom were “overzealous.” Nevertheless, this reported overzealousness in Britain was most likely an import from Kirtland.

All the evidence presented up to this point, both in contemporary records and in memoirs, has come from or been dependent on Kirtland. And it has been consistent. All the official pronouncements coming out of Kirtland demand compliance with the Word of Wisdom to hold an office or be a member in good standing. Kirtland priesthood quorums and anecdotal evidence reflect the same seriousness and aspirations for strict abstinence. I have not cited anec-

¹⁰¹*President Heber C. Kimball’s Journal*, Seventh Book of the Faith-Promoting Series (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 32; see also *History of the Church*, 2:529.

¹⁰²“Autobiography of George Morris,” typescript, 1953, 15, Perry Special Collections.

¹⁰³“A Word of Wisdom,” *Millennial Star* 12, no. 4 (February 15, 1850): 60. The quotation is from a letter addressed, “Dear Brother Pratt.”

dotes demonstrating noncompliance, but such instances were probably the exception rather than the rule. The only official exceptions of which I am aware were the sacramental and medical exclusions. Though enforcement certainly was inconsistent, there can be little doubt that the Word of Wisdom as contained in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants was accepted by the Church in Kirtland as binding on every member, that compliance was expected from every office holder, and that it could be used as a test of good standing.

Missouri, however, presented a different set of challenges.

WORD OF WISDOM OBSERVANCE IN MISSOURI

I have found no evidence to indicate how the Word of Wisdom was received by the Saints in Missouri in the twelve months immediately following the revelation's reception in February 1833. In fact, it was not until Zion's Camp reached Missouri in June 1834 that there is any mention at all of the Word of Wisdom. After Zion's Camp had disbanded and after Joseph had left Clay County on July 9, 1834—and presumably after he had provided instruction on the topic—the high council in Clay County sent a letter on August 1, 1834, to the members in Missouri who had been driven out of Jackson County and who were, for the most part, living in temporary circumstances in Clay County. The letter authorized John Corrill to instruct the Saints “that they may be perfected, . . . strictly keeping all the commandments, . . . [and] that all that mean to have the destroyer pass over them, as the children of Israel, and not slay them, may live according to the ‘word of wisdom.’”¹⁰⁴ This statement is the earliest known preaching of the Word of Wisdom in Missouri. It is singled out for specific mention while the only other topic is general: “all the commandments.” The wording and timing of this letter suggest that both the impetus and the content were influenced by the manner of keeping the Word of Wisdom in Kirtland. (I am unaware of any reports on the results of John Corrill's mandate.)

In 1835 additional indications begin to appear concerning the Word of Wisdom in Missouri. Wilford Woodruff had been baptized in New York in December 1833, ten months after the Word of Wisdom was revealed. After moving to Kirtland, if not before, he would have been exposed to its binding nature and apparently took it with

¹⁰⁴*History of the Church*, 2:138.

such seriousness that he later copied it down in the blank pages at the back of his copy of the 1833 *Book of Commandments* (discussed above). Woodruff had gone to Missouri with Zion's Camp and stayed there after the camp was dissolved. He therefore would have been in Missouri when the high council sent Corrill to preach the Word of Wisdom among the Missouri Saints. On January 18, 1835, while traveling on a mission through Jackson County, Woodruff noted in his diary that the lady of the house in which he had been given shelter was quite surprised when he refused coffee.¹⁰⁵ Although sources are sparse about the Word of Wisdom in Missouri during this period, Woodruff was obviously considering adherence to be part of his duty as a member.

Phelps's 1835 letter (mentioned above) to his wife, Sally, described the "sameness" of the Kirtland Saints, and that "they keep the Word of Wisdom" and "drink cold water and don't even mention tea and coffee." The fact that Phelps mentioned observance of the Word of Wisdom almost in the same breath as the unity that existed among the Kirtland members, suggests, backhandedly, two things: (1) some members in Missouri were not keeping the Word of Wisdom, and (2) although there is no concrete evidence on this point, perhaps the revelatory rebuke of the Missouri members for their "jarrings, and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires" (D&C 101:6) could have involved attitudes toward the Word of Wisdom.¹⁰⁶ For example, John Corrill was called to preach the Word of Wisdom in Missouri in 1834, while in 1837 the president of the Church in Missouri, David Whitmer, was chastised for acting against it (discussed below).

Chronologically, the next official report about the Word of Wisdom in Missouri occurred two years later in May 1837 and is the first attested instance in Missouri of using the Word of Wisdom as a test of Church standing.¹⁰⁷ The meeting was called by the "Presidency," possibly Phelps and John Whitmer, since David Whitmer, president

¹⁰⁵Journal History, January 13, 1835, 2, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 2, DVD #1.

¹⁰⁶D&C 105:3–4 also mentions the disunion in Missouri. Though these verses mention shortcomings of the members, they do not spell out the nature of the divisive issue(s).

¹⁰⁷The exact date is not known. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day*

of the Church in Missouri, was still in Kirtland.¹⁰⁸ Those attending included the high council, two apostles, about ten Seventies, the bishop, and numerous members. The meeting “resolved unanimously that we will not fellowship any ordained member who will or does not observe the Word of Wisdom according to its literal reading.”¹⁰⁹ The emphasis on a “literal reading” indicates that some Missouri members had not taken the Word of Wisdom literally—that is, strict abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee. This resolution also indicates the intentions of those present, including some of the presiding authorities in Missouri, to make observance of the Word of Wisdom a test of worthiness. It may also indicate that observing the Word of Wisdom had not previously been a requirement for good standing.

Six months later, the selling of these prohibited substances again became an issue. In a meeting in Far West on November 7, 1837, attended by Joseph Smith, “the congregation, after a few remarks from Sidney Rigdon, unanimously voted not to support Stores and Shops selling spirituous liquors, Tea, Coffee or Tobacco.”¹¹⁰ Joseph left Far West between November 10 and 20, 1837, and returned to Kirtland. This resolution is consistent with the Kirtland High

Saints, 1830–1844 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 107 note 1, states that the meeting “was sometime in May of 1837” and is inserted between July 25, 1836, and April 3, 1837. As Cannon and Cook state in note 1, “The next three meetings (April 3 and April 5–6) were recorded in incorrect order by the clerk. The correct chronological order resumes with the minutes for April 7, 1837.” *History of the Church*, 2:482, dates it as “about” May 28, 1837, and does not mention the presence of the First Presidency. The *Far West Record*, 106, says that the meeting was held “pursuant to notice by the Presidency” and that John Whitmer offered the opening prayer.

¹⁰⁸David Whitmer went to Kirtland in the summer of 1834 and generally remained there until the summer of 1837. Lyndon Cook, “David Whitmer,” *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, edited by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 1334.

¹⁰⁹Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 106–7; emphasis in original. See also *History of the Church*, 2:482. This meeting also resolved that “John Corril furnish Bread and Wine for sacrament each Sabbath and receive for his services out of donations for that purpose.”

¹¹⁰Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 121–24. See also *History of the Church*, 2:521–24.

Council's resolution passed in October and may have been its inspiration: "We discountenance the use of ardent spirits in any way to sell or to be brought into this place for sale or use." Why would the Prophet in both instances allow the instigation of a general boycott of businesses, even those owned by Church members, if the Word of Wisdom were not a commandment and did not require abstinence? If the Word of Wisdom were merely a suggestion, then committing the members of the Church to avoid prohibited substances in the Missouri stores would have been sufficient. The sacramental and medicinal uses of alcohol, tea, coffee, and tobacco would have made a complete boycott impractical. Therefore, the boycott might indicate that medicinal excuses for not abstaining had become at the least suspect.

However, this same meeting covered an even more important issue. Joseph was sustained as the "first President of the whole Church, to preside over the same," while David Whitmer was sustained as "President of this [Missouri] branch of the Church," with John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps as his assistants.¹¹¹ David's former title, president of the Church in Missouri, had given him reason to feel equal in authority to the president of the Church in Ohio—to Joseph himself. The language of the resolution clarifies that the relationship was hierarchical, not egalitarian. This meeting thus resolved, in a manner unacceptable to David Whitmer, a long-standing conflict between him and Joseph Smith.¹¹²

David Whitmer's later recollections help to clarify the purpose of the meeting—at least if this was the same meeting that he described in 1885 to Zenas Gurley. He recalled that "Joseph and Sidney came

¹¹¹Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 122–23.

¹¹²David Whitmer claimed that he advised the Prophet in 1833 not to have the *Book of Commandments* published in Jackson County because "it would result in Evil & that the Prophet had Gone astray & he [David Whitmer] did not believe in Revelations Received By the Prophet Since that time." Interview by Edward Stevenson, December 22, 1877, recorded in Stevenson's diary (in the LDS Church History Library), and published in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Books, 1991), 12. Cook also explains: "By the spring of 1837, [David] Whitmer was part of a small but influential group of Kirtland Saints who had rebelled against the Prophet's leadership. When he returned to Missouri that summer . . . his known opposition to the Mormon leader was addressed promptly by the high council" (xx).

out [from Kirtland] and visited the various branches of the church [in Missouri] pledging them [the branches] to themselves as against my teachings upon the word of wisdom and other matters.”¹¹³ As David Whitmer here admits and as the accusations a few months later in the disciplinary council that resulted in his excommunication demonstrate, he opposed Joseph on several key issues, including who presided over the “whole Church” and on observance of the Word of Wisdom. But for the purposes of this study, the most telling feature in his recollections is the Word of Wisdom. Of all his teachings to the Saints, it was Whitmer’s teachings on the Word of Wisdom that Joseph and Sidney were pledging the Saints to repudiate.

Exactly what Whitmer had been doing—by example, if not by word—concerning the Word of Wisdom became clear a few months later when the high council in Missouri began investigating his behavior. Given the emphasis, as Whitmer recalled in his 1885 interview with Gurley, that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon gave to the Word of Wisdom on their visit to Missouri in late 1837, it is not surprising that, after Joseph and Sidney returned to Kirtland, Church discipline focused on prominent members who did not, among other things, keep the Word of Wisdom. On January 20, 1838, Apostles Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten, seven high councilors, and others met in Far West to consider the actions “of the Presidents in this place [Missouri] viz David Whitmer W. W. Phelps John Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery.” A committee was appointed to visit the “presidency” and inquire about two topics: first, selling their lands in Jackson County, and second, not keeping the Word of Wisdom.

Six days later, on January 26, 1838, the committee reported back. All four of the men under investigation admitted selling their lands but denied they had done wrong in doing so. At issue was the belief that “to sell our lands would amount to a denial of our faith, as that is the place where the Zion of God shall stand, according to our faith and belief in the revelations of God.”¹¹⁴ But “respecting the word of wisdom, W. W. Phelps said he had not broken it but had kept it. O. Cowdery said he had drank tea three times a day that winter on account of his ill health. David and John Whitmer said they did use tea and coffee but they did not consider them to come under the head

¹¹³David Whitmer, interviewed by Zenas H. Gurley, January 14, 1885, Richmond, Missouri, in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 152–53.

¹¹⁴*History of the Church* 3:3.

of hot drinks.” Based on this evidence, “the Council Resolved . . . that under existing circumstances we no longer receive them as Presidents” of the Church in Missouri.¹¹⁵ This vote essentially nullified the members’ nearly unanimous sustaining of them the previous November under the Prophet’s guidance.

The fact that the Word of Wisdom, though second among their transgressions, was even brought up at all indicates that this council—consisting of two apostles, seven high councilors, and others—considered the Word of Wisdom a test for holding office in the Church. Rejecting these four as “presidents” is entirely consistent with the 1834 Kirtland resolution that “no official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office, after having the Word of Wisdom properly taught him, and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with, or obey it.” It can be no coincidence that Phelps, whose letter to Sally described his personal observations about how strictly the Kirtland Saints had kept the Word of Wisdom, was the only one of the four to deny breaking it. David and John Whitmer denied that tea and coffee were against the Word of Wisdom. Yet it was precisely these two items that Phelps had listed as examples of the members’ abstinence in Kirtland. Oliver Cowdery seems to have claimed that the Word of Wisdom need not be kept if the prohibited substances had a medicinal purpose. (The medicinal uses of prohibited items would become even more important in Nauvoo, as discussed below.)

Noncompliance with the Word of Wisdom continued as an issue over the next several months. In a second move to reject David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps as presidents of the Church in Missouri, a “Committee of the whole Church in Zion, in General Assembly” held a series of meetings between February 5 and 9, 1838, in and around Far West.¹¹⁶ Cowdery did not participate because, as he said, “The council have concluded they have nothing to do with me.” In these meetings, David Whitmer, who was not present,

¹¹⁵Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 135–36. At a conference in Missouri on November 7, 1837, Thomas B. Marsh was sustained as the senior apostle. When David was presented as “President of this branch of the Church,” and again when John Whitmer was presented as “assistant president” for the sustaining vote, Thomas Marsh objected. The minutes do not specify his objections, but neither David nor John was keeping the Word of Wisdom. *History of the Church*, 2:523–24.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 140 note 5.

was accused of “persisting in the use of tea, coffee, and tobacco” and other improprieties.¹¹⁷ As a result of these accusations, the various groups of Saints, some apparently for the second time, rejected David Whitmer, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps as presidents over them in Missouri.¹¹⁸

Shortly thereafter, on March 14, 1838, Joseph Smith reached Far West. This time he had left Kirtland for good.¹¹⁹ Not long after his arrival, he spoke at least twice on the Word of Wisdom. At a conference on Sunday, April 8, 1838, he “made a few remarks on the Word of Wisdom, giving the reason of its coming forth, saying it should be observed.”¹²⁰ Though further details have not survived, the Prophet’s stand is clearly the same one he had taken in Kirtland.

Five days after Joseph’s sermon on the Word of Wisdom, on April 13, 1838, David Whitmer faced, for the third time since January, a disciplinary council in which the Word of Wisdom played a significant role. At this court, however, Whitmer was tried for his membership. He was accused of five offenses: “First—For not observing the Word of Wisdom. Second—For unchristian-like conduct in neglecting to attend meetings, in uniting with and possessing the same spirit as the dissenters. Third—In writing letters to the dissenters in Kirtland unfavorable to the cause, and to the character of Joseph Smith, Jun. Fourth—In neglecting the duties of his calling, and separating himself from the Church, while he had a name among us. Fifth—For signing himself President of the Church of Christ in an insulting letter to the High Council after he had been cut off from the Presidency.”¹²¹

Other historians of the Missouri period have tended to see the accusation of noncompliance with the Word of Wisdom as comparatively unimportant. This dismissal is understandable, given the general belief that the Word of Wisdom was not taken seriously until much later in the nineteenth or even twentieth century. In contrast, I contend that David Whitmer’s “not observing the Word of Wisdom”

¹¹⁷Ibid., 138.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 139.

¹¹⁹*History of the Church*, 3:8.

¹²⁰Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 161. See also *History of the Church*, 3:15. The next month on Sunday, May 6, 1838, the Prophet again addressed the Saints “on different subjects: the principle of wisdom, and the Word of Wisdom.” *History of the Church*, 3:27.

¹²¹Ibid., 3:18–19.

as the first charge constitutes a very serious accusation indeed. It is not a simple stressing of the fact that David had rejected the Kirtland interpretation of Word of Wisdom or even that he had flouted the authority of the two previous disciplinary councils in which the Word of Wisdom played a prominent role. Rather, the Word of Wisdom's appearance as the first offense is the parade example of Whitmer's continued opposition to the Prophet's leadership and teachings, as David's later recollection suggests.¹²² He had obviously ignored Joseph's public teaching that the Word of Wisdom "should be observed." Additionally, Whitmer was accused of corresponding with the apostates in Kirtland whose resistance to Joseph's leadership was an important factor in Joseph's abandonment of Ohio.¹²³ Therefore, Whitmer's noncompliance with the Word of Wisdom was symptomatic of the larger issue, namely, working at cross purposes against Joseph. The council excommunicated Whitmer on April 13, 1838. As with the two previous disciplinary councils, David Whitmer refused to attend and instead sent a letter denying that the council had the authority to try him.

Phelps and John Whitmer had already been excommunicated on March 10, 1838, but the Word of Wisdom was not an issue. Rather, they were found guilty primarily of misusing Church funds. The Word of Wisdom may not have been mentioned because Phelps had always maintained that he kept the Word of Wisdom, and John

¹²²David later recalled feeling skepticism about Joseph's prophetic calling as early as 1833, and certainly by 1835 he had rejected all of Joseph's later revelations. See Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 12, 163, 168. It is significant that David mentions his particular dislike for Sidney Rigdon, who, as mentioned above, worked to pledge the Missouri Saints to Joseph rather than David. Whitmer also reportedly said: "Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, but had become a fallen prophet through the influence which Sidney Rigdon exercised over him. . . . He manifestly had become embittered against Sidney Rigdon due to his promotion to second place in the Church over men like himself." David Whitmer, interviewed by James Henry Moyle, June 28, 1885, published *Deseret News*, August 2, 1944, and reprinted in Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews*, 163.

¹²³Joseph Smith, after returning from Far West in November, mentions dissenters who styled themselves "old standard" and who "set me [Joseph] at naught, and the whole Church, denouncing us as heretics." *History of the Church*, 2:528.

Whitmer's denial that tea and coffee violated the Word of Wisdom may have been more a reflection of David's opinion than his own. Certainly, timing was an issue. It was not until early April that the Prophet gave his "observe the Word of Wisdom" address, so the high council may have assigned the issue less significance in determining John and William's standing.

David Whitmer was not the only prominent Church leader whose excommunication trial featured the Word of Wisdom. Lyman E. Johnson, an apostle, was excommunicated April 13, 1838. Lyman was accused among other charges, of "not observing the word of wisdom," specifically drinking tea, coffee, and brandy.¹²⁴

In summary, the fact that David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery—the very leaders in Missouri who should have been promoting the Word of Wisdom—did not abstain from the prohibited substances, may have positioned them as a significant source of active opposition to interpreting the Word of Wisdom as a binding commandment. As Moses Martin mentioned in the February 1838 trial that rejected the Whitmer brothers and Phelps as presidents of the Church in Missouri, "the present corruptions of the church here [in Missouri], were owing to the wickedness and mismanagement of her leaders."¹²⁵ On the other hand, other (some would say lesser) Church leaders in Missouri did promote adherence to the Word of Wisdom once it became clear that Joseph considered it to be a serious matter. They included the high council, which authorized John Corrill's preaching the Word of Wisdom, and those who raised noncompliance with the Word of Wisdom as a significant issue in the 1837–38 trials of David and John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, and Oliver Cowdery.

Soon, however, developments would change the course of history for the Church in Missouri. The internal dissent in the Church partly spilled over into open hostilities with the Missourians, resulting in the "Mormon War" of 1838, the exile of the Saints to Illinois in the winter of 1838–39, and the six-month imprisonment of Joseph Smith and other Church leaders. Too many challenges had attacked the social fabric of the Saints at the same time for them to come to a unity of belief about the Word of Wisdom in Far West. Nauvoo, however, was an opportunity in Saint-making that would include a resolution of the Word of Wisdom's status.

¹²⁴Ibid., 172–76.

¹²⁵Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 139; see also 172–76.

THE WORD OF WISDOM IN NAUVOO

The Nauvoo period did not, in general, see an emphasis on the Word of Wisdom.¹²⁶ However, I have found some evidence that certain individuals and Church units continued to try to maintain the standard set in Kirtland, emphasizing the binding nature of the Word of Wisdom and seeking to use it as a test for good standing in the Church. Simultaneously, however, a “gradual relaxation and liberalization of liquor laws”¹²⁷ characterized civil ordinances in Nauvoo. The results of these disparate actions were, from our present point of view, rather disappointing with regard to abstinence. Nevertheless, after presenting this evidence more or less chronologically, I will suggest in the final section three reasons why, by 1843, moderation rather than abstinence had become the rule of the day.

Nauvoo was the first location where the Latter-day Saints applied for and received permission to organize politically. Therefore, the evidence I present consists of two kinds: (1) official Church actions taken by priesthood quorums, other Church units, or articles in the official Church newspaper, *Times and Seasons*, and (2) civil actions, which, for the purposes of this paper, I assume also reflect official Church attitudes, since Mormons filled civic offices. Nevertheless, Nauvoo was a river city that attracted, both temporarily and permanently, many non-Latter-day Saints. Some accommodations were made to contemporary American standards, including the availability of alcoholic beverages. Therefore, the Nauvoo city ordinances discussed below show an initial pattern of Kirtland-style standards that gave way, in later ordinances, to an increased willingness to cater to the “desires of the growing Gentile element for easier accessibility of alcoholic beverages, along with similar urgings of many Mormons not holding to the view of strict abstinence.”¹²⁸

The strength of the Kirtland policies of strict abstinence are reflected in October 1839, barely six months after the Saints had begun settling their new city. At an organizational conference that created two stakes and several wards, a barely mentioned item of business was the members’ vote “that Ephraim Owen’s confession for disobeying

¹²⁶Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 35.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, 32–33.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 32.

the Word of Wisdom be accepted.”¹²⁹ No other details were given. However, like Almon Babbitt in Kirtland, someone had felt it necessary to discipline Ephraim Owen for noncompliance, but his prompt confession seems to have been enough to bring him back into good standing.

In the tradition of the Kirtland *Messenger and Advocate* articles on the Word of Wisdom, the February 1840 *Times and Seasons*, under the nominal control of Joseph Smith, accused some of Nauvoo’s men of spending

a good share of their time in idleness, . . . in squandering a portion of their time at public places, where poison is dealt to the unwary, and those of intemperate habits; and perhaps they occasionally, yea, we fear, too often partake of the baneful cup; notwithstanding it is in direct opposition to the word of the Lord, given in the word of wisdom. . . . If this was the only act of intemperence [sic] which has come under our observation, we should have been content to let the subject pass, for the present, . . . but as there are other evil practices which are calculated to retard the progress of the saint, in his spiritual walk, we feel it our duty to give them a brief notice at this time; such as the use of tobacco and other intoxicating nauseates, which tend to destroy the influence of the Holy Spirit, as it dwells not in unholy temples, but is an inmate of the bosom of those who live by every word which pceeds [sic] from the mouth of God.¹³⁰

This 1840 passage focuses only on alcohol and tobacco as violations of the Word of Wisdom. However, unlike the *Messenger and Advocate* articles, the editor would have “let the subject [of the Word of Wisdom] pass.” However, he hinted ominously that this was not “the only act of intemperence” that had been observed among the brethren. It would seem as if the official pronouncements that had been published in Kirtland were being mitigated in Nauvoo, at least for the time being. However, the first three verses of our present Section 89 are not mentioned, quoted, or paraphrased as the reason for the mitigation.

A month later, the Word of Wisdom received attention at the conference held on April 6, 1840: “Elder John Lawson then came forward and stated, that in consequence of some difficulty existing

¹²⁹*History of the Church*, 4:12.

¹³⁰“HELP! HELP!,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 4 (February 1840): 58.

in the Branch of the Church where he resided, respecting the Word of Wisdom, fellowship had been withdrawn from him, and also from Brother Thomas S. Edwards. After hearing the particulars, on motion, resolved, that John Lawson and Thomas S. Edwards be restored to fellowship.”¹³¹ Although details are lacking, the withdrawal of fellowship was doubtless because these two members were not keeping the Word of Wisdom,¹³² an action that is entirely consistent with Kirtland period practices. It is less clear that confession, contrition, and a commitment to better future behavior accompanied their appeal and reinstatement. In the absence of such details, it is possible to see that a relaxation of the Kirtland standard was already at work.

Editorials were not the only source of published admonitions concerning the Word of Wisdom. Eliza R. Snow published a poem, “The Word of Wisdom” in the *Times and Seasons* in August of 1840. The first two lines of the second stanza reflect the Kirtland view: “Have we not been divinely taught, / To heed its voice and highly prize it?”¹³³ Apparently, she was urging the Nauvoo Saints to maintain—or return to—the standard kept in Kirtland.

Six months later, the city council took steps to make Nauvoo a “dry town” by passing an ordinance on February 15, 1841.¹³⁴ The ordinance prohibited “vending whiskey in a less quantity than a gallon, or other spirituous liquors in a less quantity than a quart, to any person whatever, excepting on the recommendation of a physician, duly

¹³¹*History of the Church*, 4:106. The branch may be Ramus, which was organized as a stake July 9, 1840. Keith W. Perkins, “Ramus, Illinois,” *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, 981. One of those mentioned as being reinstated, Thomas S. Edwards, was disfellowshipped November 18, 1841, by Joel H. Johnson, president of the Ramus Stake, for assault and battery. He must have been reinstated a second time because on March 28, 1844, he volunteered to help scout out the Rocky Mountains. On December 4, 1841, the Ramus Stake was dissolved and John Lawson was appointed to preside over the Ramus Branch. *History of the Church*, 4:454, 468; 6:227.

¹³²Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 29, understood the charges the same way.

¹³³Eliza R. Snow, “The Word of Wisdom,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 10 (August 1840): 160.

¹³⁴Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 31.

accredited in writing.”¹³⁵ In modern terms, this ordinance forbade the sale of distilled alcohol by the drink unless prescribed by a doctor, thus leaving open-ended the question of selling larger amounts of distilled alcohol and of fermented drinks in any quantity. Nevertheless, the ordinance is reminiscent of similar prohibitions against producing, selling, and imbibing alcohol that had been instituted in Kirtland and Far West.¹³⁶

The question of fermented drinks was resolved later that year. On July 12, 1841, Joseph Smith proposed to the city council “that any person in the City of Nauvoo be at liberty to sell vinous liquors in any quantity, subject to the city ordinances.”¹³⁷ This ordinance made a distinction between distilled and fermented drinks. Perhaps continued use of wine for the sacrament may have contributed to this distinction.

Less than a month after the February city ordinance prohibiting the sale of distilled liquor by the drink, John A. Hicks, who had been called as president of the elders’ quorum on January 19, 1841 (D&C 124:137), sent his quorum an open letter, published in the *Times and Seasons* on March 1, 1841. “Beloved Brethren, . . . it is necessary that

¹³⁵*History of the Church*, 4:299. This ordinance would have been one of the first passed after the Nauvoo City Charter became operational on February 1, 1841. The charter allowed the city council “to license, tax, and regulate auctioneers, merchants, and retailers, grocers, taverns ordinaries, hawkers, peddlers, brokers, pawnbrokers, and money changers.” *History of the Church*, 4:246.

¹³⁶Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 32, notes that, in November 1841, “the city council ordered the razing of a grocery which was dispensing liquor unlawfully.” He cites *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 2 (15 November 1841): 599–600. This article does not mention “liquor” as the reason for razing the building; rather, it states: “In violation of the ordinances of this city, [a young man] not long since erected a small building, near the Temple square, avowedly for the purpose of transacting the business of a Grocer. Said building was for a short time occupied for that purpose; but so heavy did the frown of public disapprobation rest upon it, that it was finally vacated, and stood some time, a lonely wreck of folly.” If the building were razed because it dispensed liquor in violation of the city ordinance, then it provides evidence of the city council’s intent to enforce its ordinances.

¹³⁷*History of the Church*, 4:383.

we should know how many are on the Lord's side. . . . There are also others who have gone out from us because they were not of us, . . . they keep not the commandments neither the word of wisdom, they have a covering but not of my spirit saith the Lord. . . . Beloved Brethren, we beseech you, arm yourselves with the whole armor of God, teach the doctrine of Christ, keep the word of wisdom, be faithful in a few things, and God will make you ruler over many, even so—Amen.”¹³⁸ Significantly in this short letter, he twice appeals for greater adherence to the Word of Wisdom. It appears that Hicks was advocating the same standard that had been practiced in Kirtland.

Branches far removed from Nauvoo seem to have continued to try and maintain the standard set in Kirtland. For example, a branch of the Church in “Leachburgh,” Pennsylvania, probably in June 1841, held a conference and passed several resolutions, extracts of which the editor of the *Times and Seasons* recommended “for the adoption of all the saints.” Interestingly, the “extract” that was published concerns only one aspect of the Word of Wisdom, alcohol, but puts it in the context of “all the known commandments of God.” The printed resolution reads: “Inasmuch, as the use of ardent spirits is prohibited by the gospel, and is not conducive to the happiness, peace and well being of society; therefore, Resolved, 1st. That this conference [district of the Church] utterly discountenance the use of ardent spirits as a beverage. 2nd. Resolved, That this conference disfellowship every member who continues to indulge, and will not forsake such evil practices. 3rd. Resolved, That this conference, collectively and individually, covenant to keep all the known commandments of God, as made known in the Bible, Book of Mormon, and book of Doctrine and Covenants.”¹³⁹ Thus, as far as “strong drinks” are concerned, this branch was adhering to the Kirtland standard, even calling for disfellowshipping members who imbibed substances “prohibited by the gospel.” The fact that the editor of the *Times and Seasons* endorsed this standard for all members of the Church underscores the attitude that the Word of Wisdom should remain a test for good standing in the

¹³⁸John A. Hicks, Letter to the editor, *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 9 (March 1, 1841): 340.

¹³⁹*Times and Seasons* 2, no. 17 (July 1, 1841): 464a. The top of the column begins, “We have received the minutes of the conference held in Leachburgh . . .” Don Carlos Smith and R. B. Thompson are listed as editors of this edition.

Church, nor can the decision to publish these minutes be necessarily ascribed only to Joseph Smith.

Across the Missouri River from Nauvoo, in Zarahemla, Iowa, on August 9, 1841, Apostle John Taylor admonished the members at a conference to “obey all the commandments of God,” with the result that the conference endorsed a resolution: “This church will not fellowship any person or persons who are in the habit of drinking ardent spirits, or keeping tipling [tippling] shops, and we will use our best endeavors to suppress it.”¹⁴⁰ No vote is recorded, but those who accepted this proposition obviously saw habitual liquor consumption as unbefitting a member in good standing in the Nauvoo period. This measure is, significantly, nearly as broad and far-reaching as the Church stand in the Kirtland period had been.

Joel Hills Johnson, who had been present when the Word of Wisdom was given in Kirtland, had been sustained as president of the Ramus Stake in Hancock County, Illinois. He wrote in his diary under the general date of 1841:

Our town increased rapidly and love and union Seemed to prevail and peace and plenty filled our hearts with Joy—But in the latter part of the Summer [1841] we began to discover <that> false brethren had crept in among us unawares who began to teeach things contrary to the revelations of God, by Saying that it was not [sic] harm to Steal from our enemies especially the Missouricains—And there was no harm in meeting together and drinking ardent spirits and having a Spree now and then and Shiverreeing our neighbor upon wedding occasions to make them hand over the grog and good things.¹⁴¹

Johnson was quite upset by this behavior, especially because the offenders were his first counselor, four members of the stake high council, and the bishop in Ramus. After these men had made a public spectacle of themselves by being intoxicated at a muster of the Nauvoo Legion, Johnson took action:

Therefore on the next Sabbath I took the Stand and commenced

¹⁴⁰“Conference Minutes. Minutes of a conference held in Zarahemla, Iowa, August A.D. 1841,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 22 (September 15, 1841): 548.

¹⁴¹Joel Hills Johnson, “A Journal or Sketch of the Life of Joel H. Johnson,” Vol. 1, pp. 35–36, LDS Church History Library; interlinear additions in angle brackets.

preaching upon the Subject of Intemperence Whereupon the Bishop arose and ordered me to desist declaring that I should not preach on the subject—I told him if the Church had appointed him to preside that I would Sit down and let him go ahead—if not to Sit down himself and pay attention to his own business—Upon which my first councilor arose and declared that they had heard that I was going to preach upon that subject and had come to Stop me, upon which I cald a ¹⁴²vote <of the congregation> to know whether I should proseed with my discourse or not, the vote camed in the affirmative I then cald for order but the Bishop and his colleagues kept up such a confusion that no order was to be had and after hearing their abuses for a while, I left the house and went home.¹⁴³

As this incident shows, violations of the Word of Wisdom were not only serious moral offenses in themselves but were also significant signs of social disorder and disunity among the Saints. The standoff between Johnson and the men who should have supported him ended when they were arrested while raiding another Illinois town and were jailed. Shortly afterward, the Ramus Stake was dissolved.¹⁴⁴

The fact that the *Times and Seasons* seems to have been a platform for those who wanted to encourage a stricter application of the Word of Wisdom suggests ongoing debate among the members of the Church. For example, “N. Moon,” who held no prominent ecclesiastical position in Nauvoo, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Times and Seasons* exhorting the members to stop complaining about the laws and commandments of God, that the “law of heaven . . . ought to be attended to without a murmur.” In the latter half of the letter, the writer focused on the Word of Wisdom, “Now what shall we say upon this subject? shall we say it is the work of man, or shall we say it is given by the spirit of God? But comparing the whole work we must say it is the latter.” Then, near the end of the letter, came the warning, “You must either obey the commandment [to abstain from tobacco and alcohol] or be reconciled to your doom. But I would advise you to come forth with the resolution of a man, and show to the world that you are determined to take the kingdom if it be by storm, and enjoy all the blessing,

¹⁴²Dittography at the end of one line and the beginning of the next.

¹⁴³Johnson, “A Journal,” 36–37.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 36–37.

contained in the word of wisdom.”¹⁴⁵

Such advice concerning the Word of Wisdom was not limited to rank-and-file members but was also taken up by prominent members of the Church. When the Nauvoo High Council met on January 21, 1842, “Elder Hyrum Smith spoke showing the proper order of things Spoke, at length, on the word of wisdom the necessity of obeying it. How it had been trifled with—the temporal danger in not obeying and the blessings in obeying it.”¹⁴⁶ This statement contrasts with Hyrum’s advice to the Kirtland Camp Seventies Quorum not to be “too particular” about the Word of Wisdom. It would seem that, by this time in Nauvoo, when the standard had already been relaxed, Hyrum was a champion of strict adherence.

Reinforcing this opinion expressed in a small circle of priesthood leaders in Nauvoo, Hyrum next gave a major public address on keeping the Word of Wisdom. In May 1842, he delivered a sermon at a Sunday preaching service that was published in the *Times and Seasons*. According to this report, he began by stating, in a reference probably not just to the Word of Wisdom but certainly including it, “that there were many of the commands of God that seemed to be overlooked by this generation, and he was fearful that many of the Latter Day Saints in this respect were following their old traditions, and former practices of spiritualizing the word of God, and through a vain philosophy departing from the pure principles of eternal truth which God had given by revelation for the salvation of the human family; but, that every word of God is of importance.” He continued that God “has appointed the word of wisdom as one of the engines to bring about” the restoration of “mankind to their pristine excellency and primitive vigour, and health,”

¹⁴⁵N. Moon, “To the Editor of the Times and Seasons,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 23 (October 1, 1841): 556. E. Robinson is listed as the editor and proprietor for this edition. I have not been able to find any information concerning Moon, and he does not appear in Susan Easton Black, ed., *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 31: Mil-Mun (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1989). Susan Easton Black, email to Paul Hoskisson, April 30, 2010, commented: “N. Moon remains a mystery. I think the typesetter of the *Times and Seasons* made a mistake.”

¹⁴⁶“Minutes of the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Nauvoo Illinois,” January 21, 1842, 37, LR 3102, no. 22, LDS Church History Library.

and that “the word of wisdom is adapted to the capacity of all that ‘are or *can be called saints*.’” He went on to advise the Saints, “Listen not to the teaching of any man, or any elder who says the word of wisdom is of no moment.”¹⁴⁷

This discourse is important for two reasons. First, this sermon served as the benchmark of interpretation in future years, being reprinted in the *Improvement Era* in 1901,¹⁴⁸ and in 1916 in the *Millennial Star*.¹⁴⁹ Second, it is the first major public sermon that I could find extolling the health benefits of the Word of Wisdom. The only previous express mention of the Word of Wisdom’s health benefits was recorded in the 1836 meeting in Connecticut mentioned above, whose minutes list “securing to themselves health and strength.” However, unlike Hyrum’s sermon, the Connecticut meeting did not center on health issues, but rather on keeping “the word of wisdom” along with all “the commandments.”¹⁵⁰ This emphasis is typical of discussions during the Kirtland period, while Hyrum’s emphasis on the health benefits seems to be a departure from taking the Word of Wisdom solely as a commandment and a spiritual law. If this is true, a focus on health issues may have contributed, ironically, to relaxing the compliance standard for the Word of Wisdom.

At about the same time, on May 14, 1842, the Prophet recorded that he “spoke at length [to the city council] for the repeal of the ordinance of the city licensing merchants, hawkers, taverns, and ordinaries, desiring that this might be a free people, and enjoy equal rights and privileges, and the ordinances were repealed.”¹⁵¹ The significance of the licensing repeal is not entirely clear. The Nauvoo Charter gave the city council the powers “to license, tax, and regulate auctioneers, merchants, and retailers, grocers, taverns[,] ordinaries, hawkers,

¹⁴⁷Hyrum Smith, “Word of Wisdom,” *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 15 (June 1, 1842): 799–801; emphasis in original.

¹⁴⁸Joseph F. Smith, “Meaning of the Word of Wisdom,” *Improvement Era* 4 (October 1901): 943–49. President Smith quotes and paraphrases extensively from his father’s “Word of Wisdom” talk.

¹⁴⁹“The Word of Wisdom. A Discourse by Patriarch Hyrum Smith in the Year 1842,” *Millennial Star* 78, no. 12 (March 23, 1916): 177–81.

¹⁵⁰Stephens, “Letter to Friends in the East,” 414.

¹⁵¹*History of the Church*, 5:8.

peddlers, brokers, pawnbrokers, and money changers.”¹⁵² It could mean that the repeal applied to licensing in general, or it could mean that the February 15, 1841, ordinance on dispensing distilled liquors was repealed. Because an ordinance specifically allowing liquor by the drink was passed late in 1843 (see below), I conclude that this 1842 change affected only general licensing and not the ban on liquor by the drink.

On July 31, 1842, the high priests’ quorum held a formal meeting in which the members, speaking in turn “were required to state whether they had any hardness with the brethren, kept the Word of Wisdom, had family prayers, &c.”¹⁵³ No mention is made about compliance as a condition of holding office or whether members were disciplined for noncompliance. Nevertheless, the fact that the members were required to report their observance of the Word of Wisdom indicates a public expectation that the topic was associated with the behavior befitting Saints.

While some Church units continued to be concerned with keeping the Word of Wisdom, in whatever manner they understood “keeping it,” civic life continued a liberalizing trend, particularly where moderate consumption of alcohol was concerned. On March 10, 1843, Joseph Smith, acting in his office as the city’s mayor, told a faithful member of the Church, Theodore Turley, that he “had no objection to his building a brewery” in Nauvoo.¹⁵⁴ Turley must have been industrious because within a year he was advertising the sale of “Ale, Beer, and Yeast of the best quality.”¹⁵⁵ The ordinance passed in July 1841 allowing the sale of “vinous liquors” in any amount would no doubt have covered the sale of fermented grains, in addition to wines. It seems unlikely, however, that a faithful member of the Church in Kirtland would have made the same request, much less that his request would be granted.

On April 10–12, 1843, twenty-two men “were ordained Elders” at a special conference “with this express injunction, that they quit the use of tobacco and keep the Word of Wisdom,” a standard that would

¹⁵²Ibid., 4:246.

¹⁵³Ibid., July 31, 1842, 5:84.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 5:300.

¹⁵⁵Advertisement in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 6, 1844, quoted in Peterson, “An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom,” 34.

have been at home in Kirtland.¹⁵⁶ Later in the same conference, elders being assigned their missions were instructed that “if they adhered closely to the first principles, and taught the ‘Word of Wisdom’ more by example than by precept, walking before God and the world in all meekness and lowliness of heart, living by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord, they might expect an abundant harvest.”¹⁵⁷ Teaching by example more than by precept is an elegant way of stating that keeping the Word of Wisdom is more important than talking about keeping it. And yet the standard required here was more relaxed than in Kirtland where violation of the Word of Wisdom meant that the elder might lose his license to preach the gospel.

Voting to accept the Word of Wisdom as binding on the members, as had been done during the Kirtland period, continued to be the practice in branches far afield. A conference in New York in May 1843 “voted by all the members of the conference who were present when the vote was taken, except two, that we keep the Word of Wisdom.”¹⁵⁸

At a conference on June 11, 1843, in Lima, Illinois, Elder Heber C. Kimball said that “he had always obeyed the Word of Wisdom, and wanted every Saint to observe the same. He said that, when he was in England, he only taught it once or twice in public, and the Saints saw his example and followed it. So likewise when the elders go to preach, if they will observe the Word of Wisdom, all of those will whom they bring into the kingdom; but if they do not, they cannot expect their children will, but they will be just like themselves; for every spirit begets its own.”¹⁵⁹

Regardless of ecclesiastical efforts, Nauvoo’s civil laws tended toward greater relaxation. In December 1843, the city council passed an ordinance “that the Mayor of the city [Joseph Smith] be and is hereby authorized to sell or give spirits of any quantity as he in his wisdom shall judge to be for the health and comfort, or convenience of such travelers or other persons as shall visit his house from

¹⁵⁶*History of the Church*, April 10–12, 1843, 5:347.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 5:351.

¹⁵⁸*Journal History*, May 16, 1843, 4, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 2, DVD #1.

¹⁵⁹*History of the Church*, 5:428.

time to time.”¹⁶⁰ The trumping of the previous ban on liquor by the drink, at the very least an accommodation to non-Latter-day Saints but perhaps also indicative of changing attitudes in the Church, is not the only point of interest in this ordinance. “Health” is cited along with “comfort” and “convenience” as reasons for dispensing alcohol. The medicinal exemption would become one of the major reasons, I believe, for the relaxation of Word of Wisdom standards in Nauvoo.

In summary, it can be said that some prominent leaders, some units of the Church, and some individuals made sporadic attempts to maintain the Kirtland standard of the Word of Wisdom. Nevertheless, the trend in Nauvoo was toward a general relaxation, at least with regard to civic ordinances.

REASONS FOR NAUVOO’S RELAXED STANDARD

I see three factors as contributing to this relaxed standard. None of the three originated in Nauvoo; rather, they existed as parallel themes since the reception of the Word of Wisdom in 1833. But the combination of the three, in conjunction with external circumstances peculiar to Nauvoo, contributed to the relaxing of the standard. First, some prominent Church members did not keep the Word of Wisdom, thus providing an excuse and perhaps motivation for others to disregard it. Second, some leaders of the Church cautioned against requiring strict observance, probably because they felt it would drive people away from the Church. And third, the view was popular that alcohol, tea, and coffee could be used for medicinal purposes.

It would have been difficult to enforce compliance with the Word of Wisdom if prominent members of the Church openly disregarded it. This had already been a major problem in Missouri before Far West and a minor problem with some members in Ohio. It is not surprising, therefore, that some members in Nauvoo advocated tolerance while others pushed for the stricter standards that had prevailed in Kirtland.

In Kirtland in 1835, Almon Babbitt had been accused of breaking the Word of Wisdom. In his defense he stated that “he had taken the liberty to break the Word of Wisdom, from the example of President Joseph Smith, Jun., and others, but acknowledged that it was

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 6:111.

wrong.”¹⁶¹ It would be helpful to know exactly what Babbitt meant. Had he not kept the Word of Wisdom because he thought Joseph Smith had not kept it, but he was mistaken about Joseph’s behavior? Or had he meant that, although he had actually seen Joseph Smith break the Word of Wisdom, he acknowledged that breaking it was wrong. I am not aware of examples of the Prophet violating the Word of Wisdom at any time during the Kirtland period, given the general exceptions mentioned above for health reasons and for solemn/sacramental occasions. I tentatively conclude, therefore, that Babbitt had mistakenly decided, on the basis of unspecified “evidence,” that Joseph was breaking the Word of Wisdom.

On at least one occasion (the Brown family), it was reported that Emma Smith hospitably offered tea or coffee to her guests. Unless she herself were not keeping the Word of Wisdom, and there is no evidence to prove that she was not, she probably felt the Brown family needed a restorative after a long and arduous journey. Some members, hearing of the story of the Brown family or similar stories, might not have made the fine distinction between flagrantly breaking the Word of Wisdom and offering what was, in nineteenth-century terms, medicine.

As already noted, in Missouri, David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and Oliver Cowdery did not keep the Word of Wisdom. David and John defiantly admitted their disobedience and had apparently gone further by preaching that it was not a commandment. Oliver had admitted his use of tea but excused it on the grounds of ill health. In addition, on the day after Oliver’s excommunication, Lyman E. Johnson, an apostle, was excommunicated in Missouri for, among other things, not keeping the Word of Wisdom.¹⁶² No doubt other prominent Church members in Missouri in the pre-Far West days would have taken their cue from these leaders. Many would have continued violating the Word of Wisdom after the move to Nauvoo, including the bishop in Joel Hills Johnson’s stake in Ramus, Illinois.

When the Saints from Ohio arrived in Missouri in 1838, those Saints already in Missouri had begun to gather in and around Far West. The combined membership would remain in Far West less than a year. Although attempts were made to establish the Kirtland standard of compliance with the Word of Wisdom in Far West, including

¹⁶¹Ibid., 2:252.

¹⁶²Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 172–77.

instructions from Joseph Smith, the turmoil of those few months would not have allowed time for a culture of obedience to the Word of Wisdom to become prevalent. As the members fled to Illinois, they probably took with them their own level of understanding and compliance. For example, Joel Johnson, who had lived in Ohio, had strictly kept the Word of Wisdom since its reception in Kirtland in 1833, while the bishop, Ebenezer Page, who prevented him from speaking on the Word of Wisdom had been living in Missouri.¹⁶³ Even though documented explicitly only in this one case, a similar conflict between strict compliance by some and disregard by others must have played itself out on numerous occasions during the Nauvoo period and would have contributed to a general weariness and desire to avoid conflict. The fact that prominent members in the past and in Nauvoo did not keep the Word of Wisdom would only have exacerbated the problem.

The second reason for a relaxed Word of Wisdom standard in Nauvoo can be attributed to calls for moderation rather than strict adherence. These calls for moderation can be traced back to trying times in Kirtland, specifically to Hyrum Smith's advice to the Seventies Quorum in 1838 "not to be too particular in regard to the Word of Wisdom."¹⁶⁴ Given Hyrum's well-known preaching of compliance in Nauvoo, at least for health reasons, it is possible that, in the trying times of Kirtland Camp, he was concerned about not driving members away from the Church and therefore cautioned the Seventies of Kirtland Camp to use moderation. Many members from Kirtland would have remembered or heard of Hyrum's call for moderation in Kirtland.

The editorial in the February 1840 *Times and Seasons* suggests that the standard had already been relaxed, but that if breaking the

¹⁶³Ebenezer Page had submitted a petition for his property losses in Missouri. Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992), 307–8. However, Johnson's first counselor in the stake presidency, Elijah B. Gaylord, had been living in Kirtland. Milton V. Backman Jr., comp., *A Profile of Latter-day Saints of Kirtland, Ohio, and Members of Zion's Camp* (Provo, Utah: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1982), 27. Elijah had also passed through Far West. *History of the Church*, 3:253.

¹⁶⁴*History of the Church*, 3:95.

Word of Wisdom were “the only act of intemperence [sic] which has come under our observation, we should have been content to let the subject pass, for the present.”¹⁶⁵ The phrase “for the present” seems to be giving notice that breaking the Word of Wisdom would not always be tolerated and that perhaps the stricter Kirtland standard would be reinstated.

Heber C. Kimball, speaking at the reorganization of the Lima Stake in June 1843, seems to have been misunderstood when he mentioned the Word of Wisdom. In the morning session he is recorded as saying “that he always despised a penurious principle in any man, and that God despised it also; for he was liberal and did not look at every little thing as we do. He looked at the integrity of the heart of man. He said some would strain, nip and tuck at the Word of Wisdom, and at the same time they would turn away a poor brother from their door when he would ask for a little meal for his breakfast.”¹⁶⁶ Kimball’s remarks could easily have been construed as license to disregard a strict interpretation of the Word of Wisdom. This appears to have been exactly what happened, because that afternoon, Kimball returned to the stand and “renewed the subject [of the Word of Wisdom] by saying that he did not wish to have any one take any advantage of what he had said, for he spoke in general terms; but said he had always obeyed the Word of Wisdom, and wanted every Saint to observe the same.”¹⁶⁷ Yet his remarks reveal a spirit of tolerance rather than strict adherence to the Word of Wisdom that could easily have been generalized by some of the Saints.

Perhaps one reason for preaching moderation in Nauvoo was that some of the Saints did not feel comfortable asking other members to comply, even if they themselves kept the Word of Wisdom strictly. This attitude is articulated by George A. Smith less than a decade after the Saints left Nauvoo. On April 8, 1855, he preached the kind of moderation that might have been prevalent in Nauvoo: “Let us suffer our fathers and mothers to drink the tea and the coffee, and chew all the tobacco they want, . . . because they have imbibed this practice years ago, and now to deprive them of these things alto-

¹⁶⁵“HELP! HELP!!,” 58. For this issue, E. Robinson and Joseph Smith are listed as editors and proprietors.

¹⁶⁶*History of the Church*, 5:428.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

gether might endanger their lives.”¹⁶⁸ George A.’s point, that forcing older members to keep the Word of Wisdom “might endanger their lives,” also suggests health reasons for allowing continued consumption of prohibited substances.¹⁶⁹ If this type of reasoning had been used in Nauvoo fifteen years earlier, in 1840, it alone would account for a more tolerant approach than strict abstinence.

On November 7, 1841, Joseph Smith himself also preached tolerance in Nauvoo, using an example related to the Word of Wisdom:

Elder William O. Clark preached about two hours, reproving the Saints for a lack of sanctity, and a want of holy living, enjoining sanctity, solemnity, and temperance in the extreme, in the rigid sectarian style. I reproved him as Pharisaical and hypocritical and not edifying the people; and showed the Saints what temperance, faith, virtue, charity, and truth were. I charged the Saints not to follow the example of the adversary in accusing the brethren, and said, “If you do not accuse each other, God will not accuse you. If you have no accuser you will enter heaven, and if you will follow the revelations and instructions which God gives you through me, I will take you into heaven as my back load. If you will not accuse me, I will not accuse you. If you will throw a cloak of charity over my sins, I will over yours—for charity covereth a multitude of sins. What many people call sin is not sin; I do many things to break down superstition, and I will break it down;” I referred to the curse of Ham for laughing at Noah, while in his wine, but doing no harm. Noah was a righteous man, and yet he drank wine and became intoxicated; the Lord did not forsake him in consequence thereof, for he retained all the power of his priesthood, and when he was accused by Canaan, he cursed him by the priesthood which he held, and the

¹⁶⁸George A. Smith, April 8, 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 2:364.

¹⁶⁹That this *attitude* of “grandfathering” Word of Wisdom breakers went beyond simple health issues is evidenced by a letter from Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund to John W. Hess on October 31, 1902: “Very old men in whom tobacco habit may have become part of their nature, and who may regard it as a great hardship to be required to abstain from its use in order to receive your recommendation to the temple, should at least be willing to curtail themselves as much as they possibly can, and promise to cleanse themselves from the tobacco odor and not to use it at all the days they do work in the temple.” In *The Development of LDS Temple Worship 1846–2000: A Documentary History*, edited by Devery S. Anderson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2011), 128.

Lord had respect to his word, and the priesthood which he held, notwithstanding he was drunk, and the curse remains upon the posterity of Canaan until the present day.¹⁷⁰

The third explanation for a relaxed Nauvoo standard where the Word of Wisdom was concerned involves issues of health and medical care. The practice in Kirtland allowed the medicinal use of alcohol, coffee, and tea (but not tobacco). As Paul Peterson has pointed out, "While the Saints opposed the common use of tea and coffee, it would appear that they had little objection to its occasional use for medicinal purposes. . . . A similar point could be made regarding the consumption of strong drinks. While the general use of whiskey and liquor was contrary to the principle, many Saints felt these beverages had redeeming medicinal qualities."¹⁷¹ It is also likely that the medicinal exemption did not originate in the Church with the introduction of the Word of Wisdom. Some of the non-Latter-day-Saint temperance movements that predate the Word of Wisdom allowed similar use of these substances for health reasons. For example, Hosea Stout, who had joined a Protestant temperance movement in 1830 before he joined the Church, recalled in the later 1840s that "the temperance regulations allowed a man to use ardent spirits as medicine."¹⁷²

Church records also show that in June 1834 when cholera struck Zion's Camp in Missouri, a whiskey and flour mixture was prescribed as a cure.¹⁷³ On December 4, 1836, during a meeting of the Saints in the House of the Lord in Kirtland, Sidney Rigdon called for a vote "to discountenance the use intirely of all liquors from the Church in Sick-ness & in health except wine at the Sacraments & for external Washing. The vote was Carried eunanimously."¹⁷⁴ This resolution was an attempt to close the medicinal loophole while allowing the same use of wine for the sacrament that the Word of Wisdom itself permits.

In Missouri, during Oliver Cowdery's first disciplinary council in 1838, he defended his drinking of tea by claiming illness. The fact that the Word of Wisdom was not an issue in his subsequent trials,

¹⁷⁰*History of the Church*, 4:445–46.

¹⁷¹Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom," 23–24.

¹⁷²Hosea Stout, *Journal*, 63–64; this portion is a retrospective autobiographical sketch.

¹⁷³*History of the Church*, 2:119; "History of George Albert Smith, by Himself," June 28, 1834, 31, in *Selected Collections*, Vol. 1, DVD #32.

¹⁷⁴Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, December 4, 1836, 1:110–11.

even when he was excommunicated, suggests that this defense was considered valid. In contrast, David Whitmer defiantly admitted using prohibited substances but claimed he had done nothing wrong. In his subsequent trials, including excommunication, his violation of the Word of Wisdom remained a consistent and prominent element.

Health and the search for effective medicine received increased attention in Nauvoo thanks to the endemic struggle in the early years against “ague,” probably malaria. Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, Heber C. Kimball’s young daughter, commented in her published memoirs many years later:

We know how the ague weakens and reduces a person’s strength in two or three days [here in Utah], but there [in Nauvoo] we had it for weeks and months at a time, and there was no alternative but to submit and make the best of it. Wrapped in our shawls or quilts we would sit cramped and shaking to the very marrow, hovering over the fire, which only increased the shivering, but would not leave it as long as we could sit up, and when the fever came on the pain and suffering were so intense that the patient generally became delirious.¹⁷⁵

After describing the plight of the Saints, Helen Mar continued:

Brother Joseph, seeing the condition of the Saints, especially those on the bank of the river, where the water was unfit for drinking purposes and they were dying like sheep, his sympathies were so wrought upon that he told them to make tea and drink it, or anything that they thought would do them good; and he often made tea and administered it with his own hands. That was the commencement of their using tea and coffee; previous to this the Saints had been strict in keeping the Word of Wisdom.¹⁷⁶

Although Helen Mar was only eleven to twelve years old in 1839–40, her recollections are no doubt accurate. And in fact, to the extent that the vector of such illnesses as typhoid and cholera included contaminated water, then the boiled water for tea would, inadvertently, have provided protection against these diseases. Even in the case of malaria, which is mosquito-borne, rather than water-borne, the issue was providing medical relief as, by analogy, whiskey had

¹⁷⁵Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, eds., *A Woman’s View: Helen Mar Whitney’s Reminiscences of Early Church History* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997), 111–12.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 112.

been seen as an acceptable treatment for the cholera that struck Zion's Camp. Perhaps the trend of relaxing the structures against tea and coffee to treat illness was gradually extended to prevent illness, whether they were actually effective or not. Not surprisingly, from at least 1840 on, there is a general trend toward liberalizing the Kirtland standard. This trend may have been accelerated by attempts to accommodate "gentiles" who had moved into Nauvoo.¹⁷⁷ Meanwhile, individual members and some Church entities continued to interpret the Word of Wisdom as requiring abstinence. The ambivalent attitudes toward prohibited substances, particularly where alcohol was concerned, relied largely on their proposed medicinal use. In any case, strict abstinence was no longer enforced by the time the Prophet was martyred in 1844.

CONCLUSION

The first three verses of the Word of Wisdom, which tend to mitigate against a strict adherence, may not have been part of the original revelation. By one account—single, late, and otherwise undocumented—they were added over Joseph Smith's objections, but this single source must be regarded with considerable skepticism. All of the canonized, printed versions of the Doctrine and Covenants from the 1835 through the 1869 edition, begin the revelation with our verse 4, physically separate the caption from the text, and usually set it in an italic font.

In Kirtland, all official pronouncements required strict abstinence for a member to remain in good standing and to hold an office. Semi-official sources and anecdotal information confirm this strictness. Some overzealous individuals sought to make obedience a test of membership, but the Church never officially took that position. From Missouri the evidence, though not consistent, points to non-compliance by some prominent leaders and the Saints in general. The Mormon War of 1838–39 disrupted community life before the beginning of a renewed emphasis on abstinence could coalesce. The evi-

¹⁷⁷Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 246, quoted in Peterson, "An Historical Analysis of the Word of Wisdom," 32–33: "The desires of the growing Gentile element for easier accessibility of alcoholic beverages, along with similar urgings of many Mormons not holding to the view of strict abstinence, led to a gradual relaxation and liberalization of liquor laws."

dence from Nauvoo is also mixed, with some groups and individuals choosing a strict interpretation while others pressed for moderation rather than abstinence.

By 1844, eleven years after the Word of Wisdom had been received, the standard of strict obedience that had been required in Kirtland had become a thing of the past. Contributing factors for the relaxed standard in Nauvoo were (1) the continued and intensified use of prohibited substances for medicinal purposes; (2) the preaching of moderation rather than strict abstinence by some prominent leaders; and (3) the fact that some prominent members did not keep the Word of Wisdom.

In conclusion, when the Word of Wisdom was received, it was intended as binding on the members, within the limits the Word of Wisdom itself imposes. Members were required to keep it to hold office or to remain in good standing. This is the same standard that is applied today in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Opposition to this understanding during the Kirtland period, both to be more strict and to be more lenient, came from some groups and individuals. Not until Far West were attempts made in Missouri to require obedience to the Word of Wisdom. From the beginning in Nauvoo, the Word of Wisdom was generally not enforced, though some groups and individuals tried. By the time the Prophet was martyred in 1844, the standard set in Kirtland had been abandoned. It would take the Church as a whole about a hundred years to return to that standard.

APPENDIX RECOMMENDED READINGS

In addition to the sources cited elsewhere in this article, I also suggest the following readings:

Alexander, Thomas G. "The Word of Wisdom: From Principle to Requirement." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 78–88.

Arrington, Leonard J. "Have the Saints Always Given as Much Emphasis to the Word of Wisdom as They Do Today?" *Ensign*, April 1977, 32.

Backman, Milton V., Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 257–61.

Bergera, Gary J. "Has the Word of Wisdom Changed since 1833?" *Sunstone*

10, no. 7 (July 1985): 32–33.

Bush, Lester E., Jr. “The Word of Wisdom in Early Nineteenth-Century Perspective.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Fall 1981): 45–65.

Harper, Steven C. *The Word of Wisdom*. Orem, Utah: Millennial Press, 2007.

Underwood, Grant. “Expulsion from Zion, 1833.” In *Joseph Smith: The Prophet and Seer*, edited by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2009, 127–35.

REVIEWS

Benjamin C. Pykles. *Excavating Nauvoo: The Mormons and the Rise of Historical Archaeology in America*. CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. xxiii + 391 pp. Notes, bibliography, illustrations, map, appendix, index. Cloth: \$50.00. ISBN 978-0-08032-1893-2

Reviewed by Glen M. Leonard

In *Excavating Nauvoo*, Benjamin Pykles introduces himself to the Mormon history community as the latest in a growing list of young scholars who are launching their academic careers with path-breaking studies. Robert L. Schuyler, who oversees historical archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania, states in his foreword that Pykles's book is only "the second serious, extended study" to examine the history of the young discipline of historical archaeology "based on primary sources and using standard historical and contextual analysis" (ix-x).

The first such volume appeared five years ago in a field that established itself professionally just over forty years ago. The work undertaken by historical archaeologists in Nauvoo, Illinois, was among the earliest in North America. Pykles's case study is, therefore, a look at this newest of the subfields in archaeology in its early stages and its intersection with the beginning of the archaeological examination of several historical properties in Nauvoo. The excavations in Nauvoo, Pykles says, are an especially appropriate case study with meaning for archaeologists and for the two religious organizations that, over a twenty-one-year period beginning in 1961, excavated thirty-two Nauvoo sites and eventually reconstructed or restored on those sites eighteen historic buildings.¹

Excavating Nauvoo received the Mormon History Association's 2011

¹These numbers are from the appendix. Pykles does not track all building pro-

Smith-Pettit Best First Book Award; and in it, Pykles offers the first thorough evaluation of the role of historical archaeology in the historic sites programs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).² Pykles presents much more than the expected description of the archaeological process. Rather, his study explores competing interpretive perspectives between the two churches and between the ecclesiastical and scientific players. His observations are useful to professionals in archaeology, and they inform all of the related human disciplines now operating under the umbrella of Mormon studies.

After presenting a helpful introduction to his book, Pykles devotes two chapters to describing the early interest in restoring Nauvoo and the eventual rise of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. (NRI), a chartered, nonprofit entity that oversees Latter-day Saint properties in Nauvoo. A third chapter examines the interpretive conflicts among the various parties, and a fourth looks at the projects themselves. Pykles concludes with a short evaluation of the role played by the Nauvoo excavations in the development of historical archaeology in America.

One of the consistent interpretive threads developed by Pykles is that of tension: first, between the two churches, and later, between professional and ecclesiastical stakeholders. The competition was especially evident in Nauvoo, he says, because “each group saw Nauvoo as a powerful, physical symbol of particular values and ideals that had the potential to bolster group identity at a time when this was badly needed” (35). Historically, Nauvoo was the place where the paths of the two churches diverged. Both organizations hoped to control the way Joseph Smith’s story was told: “Would the world remember Joseph Smith as the progenitor of the LDS Church, complete with its heritage of plural marriage and temple ordinances,” Pykles asks, “or would the prophet be remembered as the monogamous visionary whose legacy was inherited by the RLDS Church?” (25).

The RLDS Church established an early and enduring presence in the City Beautiful, where Emma Smith Bidamon and Joseph Smith III made their homes. “Although the RLDS Church was engaged in giving guided tours of its Nauvoo properties since 1918,” Pykles wrote, “it was not until 1951 that the LDS Church began an official interpretive program in Nauvoo” (44). The LDS effort was in response to the Reorganization’s own comprehensive interpretive program developed in the late 1940s. For visitors to the Joseph Smith

jects, only those involving archaeological work up to 1984. He dates the excavations, but not the restorations and reconstruction, some of which do not immediately follow the underground work.

²Pykles uses the RLDS Church’s historic name throughout because, during the period under discussion, it had not yet become Community of Christ.

homes, RLDS guides defined Brigham Young as the author of plural marriage and of temple ordinances and Smith as the restorer of the New Testament church. Latter-day Saints missionary couples countered by telling visitors that Joseph Smith introduced the temple ordinances in Nauvoo and that Brigham Young was his legitimate successor. During the 1950s LDS guides used a remodeled old stone building on the Nauvoo Temple site for a visitors' center. The Brigham Young home became a second interpretive center after its purchase in 1961.

Two world wars and the Great Depression delayed full implementation of the historic sites programs of both churches. Yet the impediments to tourism created by the wars and economic downturns did not halt the expansion of historic properties. By the 1930s, conversations about hosting visitors were becoming commonplace. Among those contributing to this discussion were Chicago artist Layne K. Newberry (1896–1961) and the LDS Church's Northern States Mission president Bryant S. Hinckley (1867–1961), Gordon B. Hinckley's father. These men laid the groundwork upon which others built an active program of historic restoration and reconstruction.

One of Pykles's most fascinating contributions is a deeply researched chapter on the rise of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. With apparently unrestricted access to NRI's Corporate Files at the LDS Church History Library, Pykles lays out the personal story of key players and how the dominant influence of a few led David O. McKay to adopt a secular interpretive framework for Nauvoo sites. Supplementing this rich primary source are an oral history with insider T. Edgar Lyon, NRI's historian, and information from McKay's biography written by Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright. The favored secular approach was an outgrowth of the National Park Service's (NPS) designation of Nauvoo as a National Historical Landmark in 1961, one of the first to receive that honor. The National Park Service defined Nauvoo as the launching place of one of America's major westward migrations, with Brigham Young as leader and the Nauvoo Temple as a national historic landmark, worthy of reconstruction.

In effect, because of the emphasis on migration, the NPS document marginalized the RLDS message in favor of LDS stories. Yet, as Pykles noted:

The "Americanization" of the LDS Church at the turn of the century created an unusual dilemma for RLDS identity as well. Until this time, the RLDS Church easily distinguished itself from its Utah counterpart by rejecting key theological principles upheld by the LDS Church, including the practice of polygamy and the observance of temple ordinances (38). . . . By the early twentieth century, however, the LDS practice of plural marriage had virtually ceased, and the LDS Church had begun to reshape its history by calling attention to less controversial aspects of the Church's past (39). . . . By continuing to emphasize the fundamental doctrinal differences with its religious counterpart, the RLDS tried to offset the Amer-

icanizing shift in LDS identity and keep the LDS skeletons out of the closet and in full view of the visiting public. In this way, the RLDS sought to maintain its identity, which was cast in terms of what the members did not believe during this time of change. (40)

To bring his story to life, Pykles introduces the influential people who coalesced around the migration story. Pykles reveals that control of NRI existed within a tight network of friends, all strategically placed and interested in the project. Nauvoo Restoration was incorporated in Illinois as an independent nonprofit corporation. Prominent national figures, including some non-Mormons, were invited to join its board of trustees. NRI's promoters expected to fund the enterprise entirely from major donors. Colonial Williamsburg was their patriotic interpretive model, and Williamsburg's benefactor, John D. Rockefeller Jr., NRI's financial exemplar. As is common with nonprofits, some trustees were selected because of their own wealth and their connections with prosperous potential donors. This financial plan failed; before long, the LDS Church was controlling the choice of projects and appropriating the needed funds.

President David O. McKay chose Dr. J. LeRoy Kimball (1901–92), a Salt Lake dentist, as NRI's first president in 1962. McKay was Kimball's long-time patient and knew that Kimball had privately purchased the home of his ancestor, Heber C. Kimball, in 1954, plus a large buffer to protect it from commercial encroachment. McKay became an early supporter of Kimball's dream of restoring Old Nauvoo.

McKay's counselor J. Reuben Clark Jr. (1871–1961), another of Kimball's patients, had listened earlier to Newberry's ambitious plan for the city. Clark, whose genealogical tie to Nauvoo was his grandfather Edwin D. Woolley, shared an interest in historic preservation. Clark had asked his personal secretary, Rowena J. Miller, to find his ancestor's land, which she did through meticulous research. After Clark's death, Miller became the Nauvoo Restoration's legendary secretary. Clark kept McKay advised of Kimball's efforts in Nauvoo and attended Kimball's dedication of his ancestral home in 1960. Subsequent conversations led to a fund allowing Kimball to buy other homes and land for the Church, in Kimball's name to avoid public concern. In late June 1962, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., was created.

The first Gentile champion of Nauvoo's restoration was McKay's close non-LDS friend, Salt Lake attorney Harold P. Fabian, who did legal work for the LDS Church. Fabian had been involved in Rockefeller projects at Grand Teton National Park and Colonial Williamsburg. After Fabian retired in 1954, he served on both state and national advisory boards for parks and historic sites. He was on the NPS board when Nauvoo was given its landmark designation. After a visit to Nauvoo, Fabian and LeRoy Kimball created an outline for the restoration of Nauvoo to preserve the Mormon cultural and historical

contribution to U.S. history and to the American character. Before long, successful businessman J. Willard Marriott Sr. (1900–1985), Kimball's college friend and patient and a well-established resident of the national capital; and banker David M. Kennedy (1905–96), head of Chicago's most successful bank, became trustees. Utah Parks Commissioner A. Hamer Reiser (1897–1981), McKay's personal secretary and an associate in planning the This Is the Place Monument, joined President LeRoy Kimball and Vice President Fabian as NRI's secretary and the third member of the new organization's executive committee.

Through Kimball and Fabian, another influential player assisted NRI as advisory architect. He was A. Edwin Kendrew, a prominent Boston architect who had become Colonial Williamsburg's senior vice president. Kendrew created the general principles that guided NRI's historic site excavations, restorations, and reconstructions.

All of these men promoted Nauvoo as a significant place in American history. However, from the beginning a competing interpretive message existed. The cultural and the religious messages were constantly being negotiated behind the scenes. Should Nauvoo be marketed as an example of America's pioneering courage or as a celebration of Mormonism? Should it promote patriotism and the westward migration in a "strictly secular context" or use the Nauvoo exemplary story "in terms of its religious significance to the LDS Church," a step toward proselytizing? (129)

Drawing upon information presented in Chapter 2 and expanded with new data, Chapter 3 explains how this interpretive conflict called a temporary halt to LDS restoration projects at Nauvoo. The seeds of the opposition to the Nauvoo projects were planted when McKay, as LDS Church president, failed to consult with the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles or went ahead with projects even after a vote of rejection. This initiative led to negative sentiments against NRI. Leading opponents included Joseph Fielding Smith (1876–1972), who succeeded McKay as president in 1970, and Harold B. Lee (1899–1973), Smith's successor in 1972.

The transition can be traced in Nauvoo's interpretive program. "Guidelines for Interpreting Nauvoo," created for adult guides in 1969, emphasized the secular view. The guides were to share an appreciation for the people of old Nauvoo and "radiate a spiritual quality . . . not by preaching or proselyting but rather by [an] appreciation of America and of the Mormons who helped build it" (145). Some Latter-day Saint visitors found the message either inappropriate or confusing. In response, the trustees defended the approach with articles in LDS Church publications.

When Joseph Fielding Smith's First Presidency restructured NRI's organization in 1971, the secular interpretation ended. Existing projects continued but no new projects were approved. The National Park Service and Colonial

Williamsburg withdrew support, and all expectations for outside funding disappeared. NRI president J. LeRoy Kimball was placed under the direction of the Church Information and Historic Arts Committee, headed by Mark E. Petersen of the Twelve. Petersen tried at first to blend the national historical themes (pioneers) and the local/LDS religious messages (beliefs). Guides were encouraged to discuss the people who occupied the restored homes and shops and then talk about their beliefs and conversion stories. The motive was to make converts while validating truth claims in light of the competing RLDS interpretation.

When Harold B. Lee became Church president in 1972, the approach became entirely religious. J. LeRoy Kimball described it this way: "We keep foremost in mind that the basic purpose of the restoration is to proselyte and therefore the Church and its doctrines are woven into the historic story, which brought the visitors to Nauvoo" (173).

Lee's successor was Spencer W. Kimball (1895-1985), a second cousin to and for thirty years a dental patient of J. LeRoy Kimball. As an apostle, Spencer Kimball had dedicated Heber C. Kimball's restored Nauvoo home. Before he became Church president, Kimball "had not developed the negative sentiments that his predecessors, Smith and Lee, had acquired toward NRI" (174). He restored funding for more than twice the number of new projects previously restored and rebuilt. The new prophet's approach to visitors was to share information and make friends so that missionaries would be better received when contacting families at their homes. The RLDS response in the 1970s was to increase its efforts to inform visitors about its own historical identity and belief claims, a pattern that paralleled the LDS message. By the 1980s the two churches had improved their relationship. They did so through the exchange of historical documents, the swapping of properties, and personal friendships among Nauvoo guides.

Petersen died in 1984. Two years later, J. LeRoy Kimball retired as NRI president after two dozen years in the post. NRI's association with the Historic Sites Committee ended and its leaders became the LDS North America North East Area presidency, with Loren C. Dunn, a Seventy, as president, and his counselors as vice president and secretary. (Dunn later became executive director of the LDS Historical Department.) Under Dunn's oversight, the interpretive focus remained religious, a few new sites at Nauvoo were developed, the visitors' center was reinterpreted, and a new interpretive center was built at the Carthage Jail. The reconstruction of the Nauvoo Temple, an idea considered and then abandoned in the 1930s, went forth under the leadership of Church president Gordon B. Hinckley. It was dedicated in June 2002. The temple's exterior reflected the original historical structure, while the interior was adapted to meet modern needs for a fully functioning temple.

In Chapter 4, Pykles presents his argument and demonstrates that “the Nauvoo excavations stand as a classic example of much of the early development of historical archaeology in North America” (193). He begins by noting Mormon interest in the prehistoric archaeology of alleged Book of Mormon sites. Pykles introduces the supporters and detractors of these explorations and explains how LDS Church leaders distanced themselves (and BYU) from some independent organizations created to link Mayan and Book of Mormon geographies. Historical archaeology, Pykles observed, became a much more defensible approach for Mormon interests. He narrates the story of the first excavation of the Nauvoo Temple site in 1961–62 (with the project’s own challenges and misunderstandings) and then proceeds through subsequent projects before returning to the second temple excavation in 1966–69 and the reconstruction project of 1999–2002. Pykles appropriately focuses on the men and women who were hired to conduct the historical excavations for the two churches. He also drives home the point that, consistent with the field at the time, these projects were undertaken with limited objectives. Historical archaeologists at Nauvoo were expected to find artifacts useful in the reconstruction or restoration of the historic building on that site. Their reports were to be oriented toward architectural needs rather than to a comprehensive interpretation of the found objects.

In a brief final chapter, Pykles lines up the findings in previous chapters to remind his readers that Nauvoo’s projects paralleled in time and method similar developments in the formal beginnings of a new subfield in professional archaeology.

In *Excavating Nauvoo*, Pykles maintains a generally well-balanced, nonjudgmental approach to sometimes controversial relationships. He brings the main players to life and tells his story clearly and understandably. Readers may become impatient with the author’s tendency to summarize each thematic chapter and reuse some information in subsequent chapters. This redundancy is a small price to pay for access to much new information and a convincing and interpretive framework that places the data on LDS and RLDS historical archaeology in a national context. Historians and historical archaeologists alike will find Pykles’s trailblazing work worthwhile.

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Polly Aird. *Mormon Convert, Mormon Defector: A Scottish Immigrant in the American West, 1848–1861*. Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. 320 pp. Illustrations, photos, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$39.00. ISBN 13: 978-0-87062-369-1

Reviewed by C. Bríd Nicholson

What Polly Aird has attempted here, and for the most part, succeeds in doing, is the difficult task of writing a family history. Her great-great-uncle Peter McAuslan, arrived in the United States in 1854, having converted to Mormonism five years earlier. Ironically, four years later, he was excommunicated from the LDS Church. A year later, he left—or rather escaped from—Utah, bound for California where he lived until his death in 1908. There is always the risk in writing family history that information will be lost, explained away, or just excused a little (or a lot), and so what remains is not of real use for historians or the interested/informed reader. Thankfully this is not the case here.

Aird begins the story in Scotland, where Peter, a skilled pattern designer, is forced to reevaluate his life and work as changes in industrialization, combined with the influx of the famine Irish immigrants, transformed Scottish society. This time of upheaval reinforced the already bigoted, biased, and sectarian Scottish divisions; and McAuslan, who was forced to leave his home town of Kirkintilloch in search of work, could have been part of that voice. Instead he seems to have been a man of unusual depth, as, from childhood, he had an appreciation of and respect for different theological ideas. Aird describes McAuslan's memories of listening to theological disputes between a Catholic, a Unitarian, and a Presbyterian, when he was only twelve years old. As Aird points out, "Peter's memories of this conflict demonstrate his interest in religion from an early age and, more importantly, reveal his belief that each person has the right to evaluate religious teachings for himself" (56).

This proclivity for independent thought and his preexisting interest in religion, along with awareness of ideas of the time—millennialism, nationalism, and revivalism—stoked McAuslan's interest in Mormonism, brought to Scotland by two missionaries, Samuel Mulliner and Alexander Wright, Scots who had emigrated to Canada in the 1830s and converted to Mormonism there. The appeal of Mormonism, Aird explains, was a combination of the social and economic dislocations suffered by miners and weavers in particular (56). Mormonism offered a message

... that God had not forgotten his people on earth, but instead had sent a modern-day prophet (Joseph Smith), revealed a new testament (the Book of Mormon), and established the true church once more on earth. Perhaps most striking was their notion of sacred time; they preached that

people could once more live in God's time and be part of God's plan, rather than be weighed down by their daily struggles. They said that all distresses of their lives were but signs of the coming millennium; that God would gather his people from the sinful nations to America, the new land God had set apart for his true church; and that there the chosen could begin to build the Kingdom of God in preparation for Christ's coming. (60)

This practical spiritual message seems to have appealed to the Scots. Aird points out that, "by January 1848 there were more than a thousand Mormon members in the Glasgow area" (60). McAuslan's personal conversion resulted from a vision experienced on November 6, 1848 (74). He interpreted it as "the truth of the Mormon church," a conclusion he reinterpreted in 1861 (75, 265). The following day he was baptized; and soon afterward, his mother, father, brothers, and sisters followed (75).

The McAuslan journey to Utah was a two-part affair. In February 1853, Peter's parents and seven siblings left Glasgow for Utah. In 1854, Peter and his wife, Agnes, began their journey. After leaving Barrhead, near Paisley, by train, to reach Glasgow, they took a steamer to Liverpool, and embarked from there on March 12 for New Orleans, arriving on May 1. Finally at the end of September, they arrived in their Zion in Utah (142). They had left Scotland seven months earlier, sailed the ocean, steamed up rivers, and walked 1,190 miles overland. They believed God had preserved them from cholera and warring Indians. And now they were expecting their first child. It had been a wearisome journey, but at long last they could say, "We are home!" (142).

This journey, which was not without drama and trauma, nevertheless is a familiar nineteenth-century Mormon story. The McAuslans survived and optimistically began life in the new world. However, their arrival was only the beginning of the story. What makes Peter McAuslan's story different is not how he and his family coped with the cold of the Utah winters nor indeed the lack of food. Instead, it is his reaction to Brigham Young's Reformation, which exploded on the social scene in September 1856, and the hierarchy of the Mormon Church. Mormonism's divine origin and godliness were the reason he had left Scotland, but this same caring, thoughtful man soon began to harbor doubts.

Peter McAuslan's spiritual crises began early and quickly. In October 1854, only a week after Peter and Agnes reached Utah, he attended the semiannual conference at the Old Tabernacle. On the final evening, Brigham Young sharply criticized Apostle Orson Pratt, the former mission president in Great Britain who had so influenced Peter's conversion, for teaching unsound doctrine that denied Brigham's Young's position that Adam was the same as God and father of Jesus Christ. As Aird explains, "This was not the 'one heart one mind' that Peter had expected in Zion. Instead here was discord among the highest levels of the church hierarchy. In addition, the writings of the man who

had so inspired Peter were being questioned by the head of the church" (144).

The Mormon Reformation begun by Brigham Young and complicated by federal politics is discussed elsewhere in detail, but of interest here is its personal impact on Peter McAuslan. There seems to be little doubt from his letter to a friend in Scotland that the spirituality Young wanted was not the spirituality that attracted McAuslan. In December 1856, Peter and Agnes moved to Spanish Fork. Less than three months later and just six miles away, a man named William Parrish and his son were murdered near Springville. This crime "became a major reason for Peter McAuslan's loss of faith" (177). Parrish had become disillusioned with all the happenings and had decided to take his two eldest sons to California, hoping to return at a later date for the rest of his family. There seems to be little doubt that these murders were sanctioned by Aaron Johnson, Springville's bishop, who commented to the men he had called together to plan the deed, "Shed no blood in Springville" (176). The Parrish murders, along with the Mountain Meadows Massacre which took place six months later, irreparably shattered McAuslan's faith. As additional violent incidents mounted up, so did McAuslan's discomfort. Yet his leaving was a slow process. In November 1858 he, along with three other members of the Spanish Fork Quorum of Seventy, were excommunicated. For McAuslan, being cut off from Mormonism seems to have been in part a relief: "The church leaders' insistence that members do what they were told whether right or wrong," he wrote, "was most strongly urged the last year or two that I was there (sic), so much so that I could not believe it, and of course I found out I could not be consistently a Mormon" (231).

However, getting out of Utah was risky, as the Parrish murders showed. McAuslan wanted the protection of the U.S. Army to ensure safe passage for himself, wife, two young children, parents, three brothers, and their families. This could happen only after another harsh Utah winter, complicated by the threat of open hostilities between the Mormon Nauvoo Legion and the army that had taken up an uneasy residence in nearby Camp Floyd. Eventually through negotiation, the McAuslans joined an army detachment headed north to the Humboldt River. After another difficult journey, the McAuslans settled in California's Sacramento Valley, where Peter became a farmer and a spiritualist, reared a family of nine children, and died in December 1908. Aird concludes: "He had journeyed in faith from Scottish Presbyterianism to Mormonism to spiritualism. His empathy for the laboring masses and the unfortunate individual ran like a thread throughout. If Peter were here to conclude this account, he would probably end with the revised affirmation he received in his 1861 vision. The words make no sense, he conceded, unless looked at from some point of view far beyond our human understanding: 'All is right!' All is right! There is nothing wrong. Yea, there is nothing wrong with the world" (275).

What remains impressive about Peter McAuslan is that, even though he had been excommunicated from the Mormon Church and obviously had many misgivings about what it had become, he firmly held that the principles and spiritual nature of the LDS Church as established by Joseph Smith were godly and good. In a letter written in 1886 as Congress was trying to introduce laws to, at the least, reform, and, more than likely, abolish Mormonism, McAuslan wrote to his nephew still in Utah: "I have no sympathy with the present crusade against your most prominent men because they believe polygamy to be the revealed command of God to certain men in the Mormon Church" (274).

If I am allowed some minor complaints about the book, they are the following: Aird seems to have done such a massive amount of research that she seemed determined to include everything. Though I understand the predicament, once or twice it would have made better reading without the over-documentation. An example is Aird's description of the dangers associated with waiting in Liverpool for the ship that would take the family to New Orleans. Simply stating the fact would have been enough here; after all, it is not a part of the story. Instead, Aird describes the docks and, in two separate paragraphs, reminds us of the dangers to the naive traveler of having their chests stolen or being defrauded of money (96).

Another area where Aird wanders away from the story is her use of phrases such as "likely," "most likely," "probably," and "must have." While historians do have to surmise on occasion to build on the possibility of what happened at various times, particularly when writing biography in the absence of comprehensive personal papers and diaries by the subject (McAuslan left primarily draft letters written years later in California), conjecture detracts from Aird's huge amount of amazing research. For example, when McAuslan "took the family's animals south to find winter feed," she adds: "His twenty-year-old brother, Frank, most likely went with him to help with the stock and to build a house where Agnes, now pregnant again, could join him [Peter] once the worst of the winter was over. Peter probably felt relieved to have these tasks in front of him rather than only fearful thoughts about the Reformation preaching and where it might lead" (169). I deduce that Aird does not have the necessary information to state that Frank went with Peter, yet she begins the next chapter: "Snow threatened as Peter and Frank slowly travelled south" (171)—treating their joint journey as a fact. I point out this stylistic weakness as detracting from a very well researched and important book.

Finally I would like to thank Polly Aird, on my own behalf and on behalf of future historians, as she has promised in the "Editorial Procedures" that she will "eventually" donate the collection of letters and papers to the Utah State Historical Society. What welcome additions—and gems waiting new eyes! I, for one, hope I will one day search through the papers to see if McAuslan's amaz-

ingly non-sectarian views in a deeply divided Scotland were part of his conversion story. I also wonder if McAuslan's own spiritual understanding can add to our insight of the appeal of the spirituality outlined by Joseph Smith. Peter McAuslan was a unique man who deserves such a richly researched book.

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Matthew Roper, comp., ed., and research scholar, and Sandra A. Thorne, editor. *19th Century Publications about the Book of Mormon (1829–1844)*. Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, Brigham Young University, 2010 (<http://www.lib.byu.edu/dlib/bompublishations/>).

Reviewed by Mark Ashurst-McGee

As documentary editors everywhere are converting their legacy of “paper” volumes into new electronic formats, Matthew Roper and Sandra Thorne offer this “born digital” edition—a documentary reception history of Mormonism’s founding scripture, consisting of 580 items with bibliographic descriptions. They have gathered reactions from both early Mormon and non-Mormon published sources. No rationale is provided for selecting published sources to the exclusion of manuscript sources, except that the project is explained as a comprehensive version of what Francis Kirkham had attempted half a century ago.¹ Roper and Thorne have collected many more non-Mormon sources than Kirkham had found and have included Mormon sources as well. The choice to stick with published sources is a wise one, as it would be impractical to attempt a comprehensive search of manuscript sources.

However, like the selection rationale, the periodization is not explained. Whereas the collection begins naturally with the earliest known publications about the Book of Mormon, the real editorial decision is when to stop. One might cover the book’s first decade, or stop when the Latter-day Saints leave the States for the Intermountain West, or after the public announcement of polygyny when the content of non-Mormon publications shifted their focus to Utah’s peculiar institution. Roper and Thorne state that they end with Joseph Smith’s death, which occurred in June 1844, though they carry on through December of that year. Perhaps this date was chosen because the Mormon

¹Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing, 1967).

side of the printed debate over the Book of Mormon could no longer be directly informed by the man who had brought the book forth.

Roper and Thorne have assembled a substantial database of sources. Projects of this scope rarely occur without institutional support and teamwork. *19th Century Publications about the Book of Mormon* benefited from the support of Brigham Young University's Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship and the Harold B. Lee Library. Roper and Thorne acknowledge the contributions of more than two dozen colleagues, editors, interns, and secretaries. The edition is hosted on BYU's Harold B. Lee Library website as one of its digital collections; it can be found in the LDS Religion and Church History section by following the URL in the headnote. Of course, Latter-day Saint scholars constitute the primary audience, but this source could be used by anyone interested in the reception of this American bible produced by the country's largest home-grown religion. The references on the homepage to Smith as "the Prophet" and to the Book of Mormon as "ancient" scripture unnecessarily assert a devout posture that may turn scholars outside the Mormon Church away from this helpful resource.

Every serious edition of this size begins with a document search and document control. Roper has been researching the book's reception for many years now, knows the literature, and has located several new sources. He has also been benefited from the assistance of Larry Draper of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library. The website includes a page providing the entire calendar of documents. The collection bulks in newspapers but also includes selections from books, pamphlets, broadsides, hymns, and a variety of other genres as well—including even the *Anti-Mormon Almanack* for 1842. There are currently 580 documents available at the site, which promises to eventually include more than 600. And the search for new documents continues, with a bird-dogging "contact us" page dedicated to bringing in further documents that any user may be aware of.

The main weakness of the edition has to do with issues of "copy text" (version selection). Some sources are provided in full, some are excerpts from larger works, and E. D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* is broken into chapters. Some newspaper articles are imaged with the newspaper masthead (including bibliographical information) while others are not. Several newspaper articles are reproduced from clippings or photocopies of clippings, when it seems as if some of them could have been located in their original newspapers or at least in microfilm copies that would show the articles in their original print context. See, for example, item 54, from the *Cleveland Herald*, or item 181, from *Nile's Register*, a widely available early national paper printed in Baltimore.

Image quality also varies. There are many examples of good or decent color photography—probably from items in the Lee Library—but overall the edition consists of poor quality black-and-white images even where decent

copies of the originals are available in the Lee Library. A few of the images are printed sideways with no explanation of this orientation. See, for example, item 53, from the *Brattleboro (Vermont) Messenger*. The edition features not only photographic facsimiles of the documents, but *verbatim et literatim* transcripts.

The hallmark of scholarly documentary editing in the modern American tradition is independent verification of the document transcripts; but it is not clear whether the transcripts in this edition have been rigorously verified. There is no statement of editorial method.

In terms of annotation, the edition is lean and mean. There is no textual annotation to speak of other than some brief bibliographical descriptions, which are not much more than full citations, and some viewable metadata. There is no contextual annotation whatsoever. However, the search capability of this electronic edition substitutes in part for an index.

In addition to word searching, the electronic environment of the edition offers several other benefits. The browse function lists each document with a thumbnail sketch and with its date, author (if known), title, and source. Once a document is selected, it can be viewed as a photographic facsimile or in transcript. The facsimiles can be viewed as full-page images or at page width. The program also provides zoom capability and the advantageous option of viewing image and transcript side-by-side. Individual document searches will highlight words on the transcript, but not on the images. The toolbar above the images allows the user to save images—all of which are now in the public domain.

The website promises that users will eventually be able to bookmark documents and access ready-made citations. Roper, Thorne, and their fellow laborers have created a useful edition that deserves to be finished, improved, and maintained.

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Sherman L. Fleek. *History May Be Searched in Vain: A Military History of the Mormon Battalion*. Spokane, Wash.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008. 414 pp. Chronology, photographs, maps, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$37.50. ISBN 978-0-87062-343-1

Reviewed by Robert M. Hogge

In January 1847 when the Mormon Battalion reached San Diego, its primary destination after an almost nineteen-hundred-mile march from Council Bluffs to Fort Leavenworth, Santa Fe, Tucson and, ultimately, Los Angeles, Commander Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke wrote:

"History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry" (317).

Using Colonel Cooke's words as his title, Sherman L. Fleek has published what he calls a "military history," a specific genre not emphasized enough by previous historians who have written about the Mormon Battalion, including Daniel Tyler's 1881 chronicle; B. H. Roberts's 1919 monograph; Frank Alfred Golder's 1928 journal study; and John F. Yurtinus's "most detailed and exhaustive study of the battalion to date" (33).

In the preface, Fleek says that the purpose of this book "is not to be a survey or history of the route and march" (18), but much of the text is devoted exactly to those two issues—where the battalion is, in almost a day-to-day chronology, with emphasis on location, number of miles traveled, the terrain, the carving of new trails, and the search for water holes or wells dug by the army they're trying to catch up with.

In his introduction, Fleek asserts: "The focus of this book is the military experience" of the battalion (36). This assertion is troubling because of a paucity of primary sources directly addressing those experiences. For example, of the eighty journals written by former members of the battalion, Fleek makes this important discovery: "Many of the primary accounts, unfortunately, provided little substance for military history" (35). Yet Fleek does have some valuable source documents to work with: he's the first historian "to have a scholarly examination of Dr. George Sanderson's journal" (35), the volunteer assistant surgeon assigned to the battalion, and three documents by Commander Cooke: his *Report* . . . (submitted to the 30th Congress), his *Journal* . . . (submitted to the 31st Congress), and his 1878 book, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* (392–93).

In the first five chapters of the book, Fleek covers much background and contextual information that could have been encapsulated much more effectively in an introduction: President James K. Polk's quick declaration of war against Mexico as a way to justify "manifest destiny" and imperialism; Mormon men's military experiences prior to 1846, such as Zion's Camp, "a skirmish or two against mob elements or state militia in Missouri in 1838" (34), and the Nauvoo Legion; Brigham Young's envoy Jesse C. Little who convinces President Polk to enlist a few hundred Mormons "with a view to conciliate them" (77). Fleek also describes the importance of the U.S. Military Academy in preparing future officers for combat, along with listing standard military weapons of the era. Fleek concludes these introductory materials with the letter from Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny to Captain James Allen,¹ directing him to proceed to the Mormon settlements at Council Bluffs to enlist Mormon men into the U.S. Army.

¹ Kearny was the Commander of the Army of the West; the Mormon Battalion be-

In Chapter 4, though Fleek is premature, he provides one of the most interesting descriptions of the soon-to-be-developed organizational structure for what will become the Mormon Battalion:

The Mormon Battalion was also authorized by Kearny in his letter of orders to Captain Allen to include separate staff positions that were normally found on the regimental level, such as an adjutant, who served as the personnel officer responsible for all correspondence, muster rolls, official orders, and returns; and also the special assistant to the commander, who was responsible for much of daily routine. The quartermaster officer was the chief logistician dealing with ammunition, stores, and supplies and the means to move them by wagon trains. Also, most units had a commissariat and subsistence officer who was responsible for stock herds, acquiring foodstuffs, and rations under the commander's guidance. Often a capable officer served as both quartermaster officer and commissariat and subsistence officer. The battalion also had assistant surgeons, a sergeant major who assisted the adjutant, quartermaster sergeants, and corporals. The musicians of a company were drummers and fifers who employed music for rhythm to keep pace and cadence, and a marching tempo for company formations. There were a dozen or more daily routine "calls," such as first call, sick call, recall, and tattoo. (100)

I had hoped that this paragraph would become a model or paradigm showing how a group of somewhat rag-tag Mormons might have been shaped into an effective military unit. But in that wish, I was disappointed. Their training at Fort Leavenworth was spotty at best, and the men weren't even issued military uniforms because Brigham Young wanted as much of their pay as possible, along with their clothing allowance, to help fund the Mormon migration from Council Bluffs to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Chapter 6, "Recruiting the Battalion," should have been Chapter 1. And still, it is not a perfect chapter. Midway through the chapter, Fleek submits to the compulsion to tell us about what's going on elsewhere, almost as if the topic he's dealing with either is not substantive enough or needs to be contextualized. In the introduction, he describes this writing strategy: "To capture the broad scope of the military and political events of the war, I have inserted short narrative summaries set off in italics near the chronological action of the story. These interpolations illustrate action in the larger war, events in Washington or Mexico, and other relative or defining events beyond the drama of the Mormon Battalion. They serve to place the battalion in proper historical context" (35).

The approach, at times, is an effective one and provides some of the most

came a small but important part of that army in California. Allen was the recruiting officer of the battalion and its first commander (July 16, 1846–August 23, 1846, when he died). Cooke replaced Allen as battalion commander and served from October 13, 1846 to May 13, 1847.

interesting information about the war with Mexico. But Fleek needed to place these italicized passages with greater care. In Chapter 6, he should have placed them either at the beginning or at the end of the chapter, not in the middle, interrupting Captain Allen's initial failure but subsequent success in recruiting men for the Mormon Battalion.

The last half of the book (Chapters 7–15) contains some of the most valuable information about the “military experiences” of the battalion: the qualifications of its assigned surgeons; “the issue of arms, equipment, and provisions” (152); the maps that show the exact routes; the sequence of commanders necessitated by the death of James Allen; conflict between some of the men and their appointed leaders; the need to separate the sick (along with women and children) from the battalion; the division of the battalion so that the strongest could reach Santa Fe by October 10; and Cooke's assumption of command in Tucson. From that point until the end of the book, the military experiences of the battalion are more pronounced, culminating with their painful crossing of the desert near Yuma and their struggles on the Baja at Cooke's Well. The Mormon Battalion's singular contribution to the military was its role as an occupying force, providing stability to the provisional governor of California, along with serving as a deterrent to would-be aggressors.

Although the Mormon Battalion made an epic infantry march of nineteen hundred miles, the men did so with little military training. Once they arrived in San Diego, Fleek says, “Now, for the first time the men received training and drill” (328).

In the epilogue, Fleek reflects: “The battalion's most commonly cited accomplishments are Cooke's Wagon Road, a future route for the Butterfield Stage Line and one of the routes the gold-rush ‘Forty-niners’ traveled; the Gadsden Purchase of 1853; and the community projects in San Diego and the construction of Fort Moore in Los Angeles” (374). That's not a bad list for non-combatants whose earnings helped fund the Mormon migration to Utah.

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Alexander L. Baugh and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Banner of the Gospel: Wilford Woodruff*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010. x, 389 pp. Photographs, chronology, notes, index. Hardcover: \$24.99. ISBN: 13 978-0-8425-2776-7

Reviewed by Blair Dee Hodges

The pen of Wilford Woodruff can be followed through many of the most prominent events of nineteenth-century Mormonism. After his conversion in 1834, the tireless diarist recorded his experiences with Zion's Camp, early missionary efforts on the eastern seaboard, his ordination to the Quorum of the Twelve, his apostolic mission to England, Joseph Smith's Nauvoo teachings, the westward pioneer trek, entanglements with the U.S. government over polygamy, the Mormon Underground, the Manifesto, the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, and many others besides. While accounting for the social, cultural, and religious accommodations the LDS Church made near the turn of the century, biographer Thomas G. Alexander observed that Woodruff is "arguably the third most important figure in all of LDS church history" after Joseph Smith and Brigham Young (viii).¹ Historian Leonard J. Arrington appraised Woodruff's thirty-one handwritten volumes as the first of "three great diaries [which] have chronicled the history of the Church" (59).² Woodruff would be gratified to know how invaluable his experiences and records continue to be for historians of the Mormon faith, as he reflected on New Year's Day in 1871: "I have kept a Journal of Events in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints . . . & I pray God My Heavenly Father that the many hours & days which I have spent in this way may prove a Blessing to Future Generations."³

To commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of Woodruff's birth, the Mormon Historic Sites Foundation and the BYU Religious Studies Center sponsored a Church history symposium in his honor in 2007. Alexander L. Baugh and Susan Easton Black, both BYU professors of Church history and doctrine, selected and edited nine symposium presentations and an additional essay for *Banner of the Gospel: Wilford Woodruff*.⁴ Nine of the ten contributors are currently or were previously employed by BYU's Department of Church History and Doctrine, making the book largely an in-house production.

The exception is Jason E. Thompson, who earned a master's degree in public administration from BYU; his essay on Woodruff's 1837–38 mission to the Fox Islands was not presented at the symposium (ix). Perhaps the most in-

¹Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 331.

²Leonard J. Arrington, "Spencer W. Kimball: Apostle of Love," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 12. According to Arrington, the other two are Heber J. Grant and Spencer W. Kimball.

³Susan Staker, ed., *Waiting for World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 303.

⁴Woodruff was designated as "the banner of the gospel" by William W. Phelps, who coined nicknames for each member of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1844 (vii).

teresting new contribution of the entire volume is the satirical poem Thompson discovered in a Bible at Vinalhaven, Maine. Thompson includes a color image and transcription of the poem (130–31), which ridicules Mormon converts who plan to depart for Zion with Woodruff:

good bye to Mr. Hale, Good by to Mr. Ball,
Good bye to Mr. Woodruff, the greatest one of all. . . .
good bye their Book of Mormon, good bye their Revelation,
good [bye] to all their fools, and all their Botheration—
. . . good bye to all the Ladies that like this thievish Band
goe taste their milk and honey in the promised land[.]

As with many essay collections, the chapters in *Banner of the Gospel* occasionally tread the same ground, but more often the chapters differ in style and approach. Most of the essays make heavy use of Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85). Alexander L. Baugh's opening essay is a "photographic journey," a chronologically ordered overview of Woodruff's life. The forty-one images include family homes, documents, churches in which he preached, grave markers, and other photographs that appropriately set the stage for the rest of the book (1–64). The photographic essay is a nice device used to broadly familiarize readers with Woodruff's life. Further, Baugh also includes at the book's close a "Wilford Woodruff Chronology" consisting of 103 entries (365–75). Events include Woodruff's travels, Church callings, sealings to plural wives, and business and civic contributions.

An interesting primary source is the 1897 recording of Wilford Woodruff's testimony, the first vocal recording of an LDS Church president. While excerpts of the testimony have been available for several decades, a full recording was made available a year prior to the Woodruff symposium.⁵ Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Stephen H. Smoot's contribution examines the recording line by line. It also includes photographs of the wax cylinders on which the recording was inscribed and a copy of the testimony's original transcript (326–63).

Some essays briefly touch on potentially taboo topics including the second anointing (185), accusations among the Twelve of "to[a]dyism" and being "men worshipers" (283, 310–11), the Anointed Quorum in Nauvoo (346, 353, 361), the Council of Fifty (345–46, 349–51), oaths of vengeance sworn against the

⁵Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Steven C. Harper, "'This Is My Testimony, Spoken by Myself into a Talking Machine': Wilford Woodruff's 1897 Statement in Stereo," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 112–16. This earlier paper is shorter and more homiletic than the chapter in *Banner of the Gospel*, for example: "We are awed by [Woodruff's] voice," they write, "It flows from a man whose ears heard Joseph teach the fullness of the gospel" (116).

murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (318), and a spirited denunciation of the practice of plural marriage by a faithful friend of Woodruff (267–68). Still, the overall collection is best understood as a faith-promoting look at Woodruff's life.

Richard E. Bennett's essay on the "rise of temple consciousness among the Latter-day Saints" demonstrates how changes of emphasis in temple rituals, canonization of new scripture, and the construction of multiple temples at the end of the nineteenth century contributed to "a profound change of attitude and a new understanding toward temple work" (233). Bennett documents how Woodruff helped reorient LDS temple rites by introducing endowments for the dead at the St. George Temple in 1877 (238). Readers may be surprised by some of the details, such as the practice of being rebaptized before receiving one's endowment or developing restrictions for temple entry including the Word of Wisdom (245). The essay is slightly hamstrung by focusing on elements which will seem continuous to currently practicing Latter-day Saints. The significance of Woodruff's contributions to the direction of temple rites would be clearer had Bennett also discussed the practice of "adoption," baptism for health, or female ritual healing, for example.⁶ Moreover, Bennett does not include examples of other LDS leaders who anticipated the performance of endowments and other post-baptismal ordinances on behalf of the dead prior to Woodruff's 1877 institution. Woodruff's own journal entry of January 21, 1844, gives a synopsis of a sermon in which Joseph Smith asserted that Church members would soon be "going forth & receiving all the ordinances, Baptisms, confirmations, washings anointings ordinations, & sealing powers . . . in behalf of all our Progenitors who are *dead*."⁷ Citing contemporary journals and sermons, Bennett credits increased emphasis on the temple with encouraging a greater degree of personal religiosity in members of the Church who spoke of becoming "prepared" and "worthy" to attend the temple (245).

Several essays in the volume border on the homiletic which—in juxtaposi-

⁶Several important articles have been published since the publication of this book. For instance, see Samuel M. Brown, "Joseph Smith's Death Conquest: Sacerdotal Genealogy and the Great Chain of Being," Paper delivered to the American Academy of Religion, November 18, 2006, Washington D.C.; Jonathan A. Stapley and Kristine Wright, "'They Shall Be Made Whole': A History of Baptism for Health," *Journal of Mormon History* 34 (Fall 2008): 69–112; their "Female Ritual Healing in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Winter 2011): 1–85; Samuel Brown, "The Early Mormon Chain of Belonging," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 1–52; Samuel M. Brown, "Early Mormon Adoption Theology and the Mechanics of Salvation," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Summer 2011): 3–53; and Jonathan A. Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37 (Summer 2011): 54–118.

⁷Staker, *Waiting for World's End*, 65, emphasis in original.

tion with the more academically oriented essays—makes the collection feel slightly unbalanced. Fred Woods's chapter on the subject of "gathering" in Woodruff's thought takes for granted the LDS expectation of geographical gathering places, one in Jerusalem and the other in North America (86). This peculiar picture of the gathering would benefit by being contrasted with the views of other millennial-minded religions. Cynthia Doxey Green quotes from Woodruff's vague descriptions of his Herefordshire, England, missionary sermons. Green asks: "The question we might ask is, what did they preach"—then answers: "Obviously, he taught by the spirit, and the spirit testified of the truthfulness of the restored gospel" (157). She concludes with a lesson worthy of Sunday School: "Woodruff's mission to the Herefordshire area shows that the Lord guides and directs his servants to the people who have been prepared to hear the gospel message. It also demonstrates Woodruff's faithfulness in preaching the gospel with all his heart" (163). Green's is a fine presentation which helps explain how the beliefs of the "United Brethren" made their conversion to Mormonism quite comfortable under the tutelage of Woodruff (152, 157). Nevertheless, some of the conclusions in this and several other essays seem out of place alongside other essays which do not stress devotional elements, such as Thomas G. Alexander's outstanding essay on Woodruff's Manifesto and the gradual cessation of contracting new plural marriages.

According to the Religious Studies Center's mission statement, it hopes to encourage "serious, faithful, gospel-related scholarship" by "publishing and marketing high-quality religious books and periodicals of a scholarly nature" (<http://rsc.byu.edu/mission-statement> [accessed February 15, 2011]). Some readers may sense that the interspersed devotional tone hinders the overall goal of producing high-quality scholarship. Nevertheless, *Banner of Heaven* is a fine contribution to Mormon historical studies from the perspective of believing scholars. Woodruff would undoubtedly be pleased with the book, considering his hope that future generations would benefit from his meticulous recording of Church history. As he recorded on March 17, 1857: "I have never spent any of my time more profitably for the benefit of mankind than in my Journal writing for a great portion of the Church History has been Compiled from my Journals & some of the most glorious Gospel Sermons truths & revelations . . . Could not be found upon the Earth on record ownly in my Journals & they are Compiled in the Church History & transmitted to the Saints of God in all future Generations. Does not this pay me for my trouble? It does."⁸

⁸Quoted in *ibid.*, 191.

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Thomas M. Spencer, ed. *The Missouri Mormon Experience*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010, 187 pp. Notes, maps, photographs, illustrations, contributors, index. Cloth: \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-8262-1887-2

Reviewed by Joseph Geisner

The Missouri Mormon Experience is a compilation of nine papers that were presented in September 2006 at the Missouri State Capitol. The authors are a mixed group—both well-known historians of the Mormon experience and authors who are writing about the Mormon experience for the first time. They come from the Utah tradition, those centered in the Midwest, and from no Mormon tradition at all. This diversity of contributors is the book's major strength. Each author writes about one subject: Haun's Mill, the second attempt to redeem Zion, the Independence Temple, the never-built Far West Temple, millennialism, the legacy of violence after the Mormon expulsion, the jail experience in Columbia, Mormon militarism, and the Mormon experience when traveling through Missouri after the 1838–39 expulsion.

Editor Thomas M. Spencer begins with a well-written introduction that takes the reader from the 1831 settlement of Independence to their moves into Clay County and then Caldwell, Ray, and Daviess counties, ending with their final expulsion from Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman in the winter of 1838–39. Spencer explains the major events that surround the Mormons' activities in each of these places, giving readers a historical context to help them understand the chapters that follow.

Chapter 1 is Kenneth H. Winn's essay on the legacy of violence after the Mormon expulsion. Winn discusses how losing a conflict is not soon forgotten by the losers and how Mormons and their historians have depicted the Missouri settlers. Winn then discusses the demographics of Missouri's earliest white settlers and their move from subsistence farming to commercial farming and professional labor. Winn stresses the youthfulness of western Missouri's leading men in the 1830s. Lilburn Boggs was the "old man of the group at forty-one when he first encountered" Mormons. Alexander Doniphan and David Atchison were twenty-five and twenty-six. Austin King was thirty-six when he presided over Joseph Smith's hearing for treason (23–24). Winn suggests that, because of the violence shown toward the Mormons,

western Missouri continued to be a violent and ferocious society into the 1880s. Winn's examples to support this argument include Boggs's marshaling of troops to fight the Iowa militia in 1839, western Missouri's supplying more men than other parts of Missouri for the Mexican-American War (Doniphan was the colonel of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers), the Missouri "border ruffians" under Atchison who attacked Kansas in the 1850s with mobbing and illegal voting over the slavery issue, and Missouri guerilla activity during the Civil War.

In Chapter 2, Ronald E. Romig and Michael S. Riggs explore "the appointed time" with the Saints' second attempt at redeeming Zion. After the failed mission of Zion's Camp, the Mormon leaders believed that God would facilitate their return to Independence and that Jackson County would be redeemed by September 11, 1836. They derived this date from a revelation Joseph Smith received on September 11, 1831, which instructed the Saints to "retain a strong hold in the land of Kirtland, for the space of five years" and then move to Zion (29). On September 24, 1835, Smith's journal records a meeting that drafted "an Arti/c/le of inrollment for the redeem[p]tion of Zion" (31; slashes Romig's and Riggs's). The goal was to march between eight hundred and a thousand "well armed" soldiers to Missouri to take back Independence (31). Missionaries were sent throughout the United States to raise money and volunteers. The Mormons were instructed to gather inconspicuously in Clay County, and the First Presidency was to relocate in Missouri to coordinate the plan. For various reasons, including public relations problems and lack of funding and volunteers, this plan to redeem Zion unraveled (40–41).

After this second failure, Smith redefined both the meaning of Zion's location to include Nauvoo in 1840 and the Mormon role, casting them as victims instead of being responsible for their ejection from Zion (41–42). To support their argument, Romig and Riggs cite Joseph Smith's letter, written in Nauvoo on December 15, 1840, in which he "emphatically instructed Apostle Orson Hyde to encourage any Palestinian Jews who might convert during his 1841 mission to Jerusalem to gather in Nauvoo and ironically not stay where they were to prepare for the return of Jesus" (41). Romig and Riggs also cite Craig S. Campbell's excellent *Images of the New Jerusalem: Latter Day Saint Faction Interpretations of Independence, Missouri* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), on Latter Day Saint theology and memories of Independence and western Missouri (41).

I found this article informative, but some of the authors' sources concern me. The use of the *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1902–12, 1932), seems unnecessary when primary documents are readily available (e.g., notes 12, 14, 19). The October 29, 1835, dinner party with Joseph and Emma Smith, Edward Partridge, and Newel and Elizabeth Ann Whitney and their conversa-

tion about returning to the land of Zion (31) is cited in note 19 (45) as Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1989, 42–43), but the authors quote the *History of the Church*, 2:294, not Faulring. Faulring's work, a professionally edited publication of the original, would be superior to the *History of the Church*, which is a revision of this source, although, in this case, there is little substantive difference between the two. As another example, the authors depend on F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., *An Early Latter-day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House Publishing, 1980) (notes 17, 20). This source is problematic since, as W. Grant McMurray pointed out in his review (*John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 1 [1981]: 60–61), the McKiernan/Launius edition is based on "an 1893 copy made by Andrew Jenson. Bruce N. Westergren, ed., *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995) or the original manuscript would have been superior. And finally, the authors quote a Joseph Smith letter of August 16, 1834 (29) but cite the version in Edward Stevenson's autobiography, written in the 1890s. Frederick G. Williams's contemporary copy is readily accessible in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 347–50. Although the quotations that I checked do not differ substantively between the earlier and later sources, it does seem good practice to use sources from the earliest documents.

Grant Underwood in Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of Mormon millennial expectations during the Missouri period, including the significance of the Zion concept, both during the gathering and after the expulsion.

In Chapter 4, Richard O. Cowan writes about the projected temple in Independence. This chapter is, with slight variations, the same as Cowan's "The Great Temple of the New Jerusalem," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Missouri*, edited by Arnold K. Garr and Clark V. Johnson (Provo, Utah: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1994), 139–54. Cowan shows a heavy dependence on sources like the *History of the Church*.

An outstanding article is Alexander Baugh's chapter on the Far West Temple. Baugh provides a map of northwestern Missouri, very nice plat maps for Far West and the temple lot, a diagram that compares the size of the Kirtland, Far West, and Nauvoo temples, and some valuable photographs of Far West spanning 1907 to 2000. The Far West Temple was supposed to have been larger than either the Kirtland or Independence temples, which it resembled in design and function, and smaller than the Nauvoo Temple. It was also unique in that the location, size, and groundbreaking ceremony were initiated by the Missouri presidency, high council, and bishopric—not Joseph Smith and the First Presidency. After Smith arrived in March 1838, he received a revelation that superseded the activity of the leaders in Missouri and scheduled

another groundbreaking ceremony.

Baugh's engaging narrative uses primary sources. His explanation of the apostles' return to the temple site on April 26, 1839, to fulfill Smith's revelation of July 8, 1838, is particularly effective. That revelation instructed: "Let them depart to go over the great waters, and there promulg[at]e my gospel in the fullness thereof, and to bear record of my name. Let them take l[e]ave of my Saints in the City Far West, on the Twenty sixth day of April next, on the building spot of mine house saith the Lord." Because of the mutual antagonism between Mormons and Missourians following the expulsion during the winter of 1838–39, this meeting took place "during the early morning hours" and as quietly as possible (82).

Baugh continues with the history of Far West and the temple site. John Whitmer, one of the Book of Mormon's eight witnesses, had been excommunicated and expelled from Far West in 1838. By May 1839, Whitmer had moved his family back to Far West and over time bought hundreds of acres, including the temple lot. Whitmer must have believed this land was sacred because "he never plowed or cultivated the site . . . [or] removed the four cornerstones." In 1874, he sold the lot to his son, Jacob D., who sold it to the Utah Mormon Church in 1909. Interestingly, this purchase occurred during the presidency of Joseph F. Smith, who had been born in Far West (83–88). After the LDS Church acquired the land, it sat unimproved for the next sixty years. Alvin R. Dyer, who had been mission president in Missouri and was called as an assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve in 1958 and as an apostle in 1967, had a keen interest in Missouri historical sites. Dyer was able to get Church funds to make improvements that include a monument, fencing, concrete casts for the corner stones,¹ a parking lot, and landscaping. After Dyer's death, a few additional improvements have included lighting, a concrete turnabout for tour buses, a picnic area, rest rooms, and tempered glass casings over the corner stones (89–91).

Thomas M. Spencer's essay on Haun's Mill (Chapter 6) is provocative and informative. He criticizes the historians who wrote texts for Missouri high schools and colleges, ignoring the massacre but dedicating pages to professional athletes and the Missouri mule (100–101). Spencer's retelling of the massacre at the blacksmith shop is powerful. He also documents that Missouri state officials and local law officers did little investigation of the massacre and

¹Baugh writes, "The ground was contoured and leveled, which unfortunately necessitated the removal of the four cornerstones. In resetting them, the stones were cast in concrete to be permanently fixed, but proper attention was not taken to ensure that they were placed back in precisely the original positions. Today, the distance between the stones is 118 feet by 81 feet, not 110 feet by 80 feet, the dimensions of the original building" (90).

brought no criminal charges against those involved (113).

I found Spencer's main argument—that the Missourians' motivation for the massacre was land acquisition—unpersuasive (112). Other issues were at least equally important in contributing to this horrible crime. The Missourians feared the increasing Mormon population with its clear implication of future political control, which Spencer mentions (110). Their concerns also included the slavery issue, how government funds would be used, and control of law enforcement. Some of these issues were identical to non-Mormon concerns in Ohio and Illinois. From the very beginning, the Missourians were afraid of a Mormon-Indian alliance, a fear that continued even after the Mormons had left Missouri.²

Spencer downplays Sidney Rigdon's July 4 sermon, which threatens "extermination" for the Missourians (108), Smith's praise of the sermon, and its subsequent publication—all of which heightened Missourians' fear of the Mormons. Newspaper articles in the late summer and early fall of 1838—well before the Battle of Crooked River and the Haun's Mill massacre—specifically mention the sermon as a reason to fear the Mormons.³

Further undercutting the plausibility of Spencer's argument is the fact that the Missourians returned to Haun's Mill to help bury the dead and check on the survivors. Although the Mormons quite properly felt suspicious of this behavior, it would have been inconsistent for people who were only out to seize land titles. Spencer omits the details found in Daniel Ashby's account of the massacre. Ashby, in the Livingston County militia, wrote a letter on November 28, 1838, to General John B. Clark, responding to Clark's inquiry into the massacre.⁴ Any account reflects the bias of its writer, and certainly Ashby saw the massacre differently than the Mormons. Still, historians need to use it, just as they would use the Mormon accounts written by David and Benjamin Lewis.

²Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 17, 18, 71–72; Autobiography of Warren Foote, entries of June 13 and 16, 1846, LDS Church History Library.

³"Mormonism," *Western Star* (Liberty, Mo.), August [31?], 1838, and "The Mormons," *Western Star* (Liberty, Mo.), September 14, 1838, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MO/Miss1838.htm#083138> (accessed March 4, 2011). These articles were reprinted in the St. Louis *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 3, 1838, and September 22, 1838, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MO/Miss1836.htm> (accessed March 4, 2011).

⁴Daniel Ashby, Letter to General John B. Clark, November 28, 1838, to General John B. Clark, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/findingaids/rg005-01.asp> (accessed March 4, 2011). Abner Blackburn confirms the Missourians' fear of the Mormon-Indian alliance and identifies it as a main reason for conflict. Blackburn also reports that the Mormons were on guard at the mill, even after the peace negotiations, and returned fire immediately on the Missourians. Will Bagley, ed., *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press,

Even with these concerns, however, Spencer's chapter is an important treatment about this tragic event.

Jean A. Pry and Dale A. Whitman provide an overview (Chapter 7) of the four prisoners who were taken from the unfinished Richmond Jail to the "dramatically better" facility at Columbia (130–31). The four prisoners—Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, King Follett, and Luman Gibbs—were incarcerated at Columbia from May 26 to July 4, 1839, before escaping. Pry and Whitman's description of the history and demographics of the Columbia area is informative and well balanced, showing the differences in a prison experience in the rough western area versus a more developed area like Columbia (122–24).

However, this chapter is limited by a lack of sources. The authors state that they had only had two accounts for the prison experience and jail break: the *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* and a short autobiography by Mary A. Rich, Phelps's daughter ("The Life of Mary A. Rich," typescript, <http://www.boap.org/LDS/EarlySaints/MRich.html>). However, additional Mormon sources are available: (1) Morris Phelps, "History," holograph; (2) Morris Phelps, "Reminiscences and Journal," typescript; (3) Laura Phelps, Letter to John Cooper, June 1839; and (4) Parley P. Pratt, Letters to Mary Ann Frost Stearns Pratt, May 30 and June 8, 1839, all at the LDS Church History Library. The letters would have been very useful since they are contemporary records. Parley Pratt wrote most of his *History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons* (Detroit: Dawson & Bates, Printers, [October] 1839) while he was in the Richmond Jail, finishing it after his escape; it is thus a near-contemporary record of being brought to Columbia (89–90).⁵

It would also be interesting to know the reaction of Columbia's citizens to the Mormon prisoners and their escape. The authors mention the jailer's anger at Laura Phelps, Morris's wife, but these details come from their daughter, Mary (128–29). Pry and Whitman point out that, after the escape, the jailer would have felt embarrassed, betrayed, and afraid of losing his job (132). He may have been aware of the vicious beating that the Daviess County sheriff and guards took after Joseph Smith and the other Mormon prisoners had escaped two and half months earlier and would have felt anxious about his family's safety.⁶ The authors should have raised this possibility. Possibly the Boone County Circuit Court records and Missouri newspaper accounts could

1992), 16–17.

⁵Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Vol. 1, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1997), 89–90.

⁶LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, 243–44.

have provided additional information.⁷

In Chapter 8, Richard E. Bennett discusses five lessons Joseph Smith learned during the Missouri period that he incorporated in the organization of the Nauvoo Legion. First, the Nauvoo Legion would be different from Zion's Camp or the Danites in being organized "publicly and above board" as "a state, not a private religious militia" (144). I have never thought of Zion's Camp and the Danites as similar. While the Danites were a secret organization, Zion's Camp was formed in response to a letter from Missouri's attorney general suggesting that the Mormons "organize a force and receive arms from the State for their defense."⁸ As for the legion being a state militia, while this is technically true (it was authorized by the legislature and equipped with state-supplied arms), it was certainly perceived differently from other town militias. George T. M. Davis, a newspaperman in Alton, Illinois, who was in Hancock County during most of June 1844, after Joseph's death, wrote: "The Nauvoo Legion . . . [was] to be exclusively under the control of the authorities of the city of Nauvoo, and in no way subject to the Militia Laws of the State, save in the case of war or rebellion."⁹

Joseph Smith's next lesson, according to Bennett, is that he would be "firmly in control" (145). No doubt Smith did maintain ultimate control of both Nauvoo and the legion. But John C. Bennett did the political maneuvering to get the Illinois legislature to pass the Nauvoo charter allowing for a city militia; the only other similar charter was also Bennett's work, obtained for Fairfield, Wayne County, Illinois, in 1837.¹⁰ Bennett also returned to the legislature to modify the charter to allow citizens outside Nauvoo to join the legion; the legislature passed this modification on January 27, 1841.¹¹ According to Bennett's biographer, Andrew Smith, "Whatever their titles [Jo-

⁷For example, I found "The Mormon Prisoners Escaped," *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 11, 1839, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MO/Misr1839.htm>, reprinting an article from the *Columbia Patriot*. King Follett's escape is reported in the *Missouri Whig and General Advertiser*, October 12, 1839, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MO/Miss1838.htm> (both accessed March 4, 2011).

⁸Walter Barlow Stevens, *Missouri, the Center State* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1915), 2:28, 553.

⁹John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius, eds., *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 103–4; Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois: From Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago, S.C. Griggs, 1854), 265.

¹⁰James L. Kimball Jr., "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," in Roger D. Launius and John E. Hallwas, eds., *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 44.

¹¹Andrew F. Smith, *The Sainly Scoundrel: The Life and Times of Dr. John C. Bennett*

seph Smith and John C. Bennett], Bennett was the de facto leader.” Andrew Smith also claims, that it was probably Bennett who came up with the name “Nauvoo Legion,” the need for uniforms, organizing the men into cohorts of “horse troops” and “foot troops,” and having set battles from the Napoleonic Era instead of the more practical frontier-type maneuvers. Certainly John C. Bennett used his position as quartermaster general of Illinois to arm the legion.¹²

Richard Bennett also asserts that for Joseph Smith “the lieutenant general job seems to be one he did not seek” (146) and that he served because the men of Nauvoo would fill their duty in a militia only if Smith would be their leader (146–47). As Bennett accurately points out, in American military history only George Washington had ever held the rank of lieutenant general, which he interprets to mean that the rank was “little more than a ceremonial title” in the U.S. military (147). But the title meant much more to Joseph Smith, who had been illegally court-martialed after the surrender of Far West; as Smith told Josiah Quincy, a court-martial requires a panel of the accused’s rank, with the result that it would be “pretty hard to try me.”¹³ Furthermore, Smith went to considerable pains to have his portrait painted in full uniform,¹⁴ requested people to address him as “Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith,”¹⁵ and signed the order on June 10, 1844, for the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, not as mayor but as “Joseph Smith, Lieut-General, Nauvoo Legion.” Smith delivered his last public address on June 18, 1844, in full military regalia, declaring as he raised his sword to the sky: “I call God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword.”¹⁶ Clearly, this was a man who enjoyed the splendor of rank.

Lesson 3 is Bennett’s view that Joseph Smith saw the legion “as a deterrent against aggression and would only call upon it as a military force as a last resort” (147). In contrast, “[John C.] Bennett believed in military force as a way

(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 59–60.

¹²Ibid., 68–69.

¹³Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past: From the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 383–84.

¹⁴For depictions of Joseph in uniform, see John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints: or An Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism*, 3rd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), dust jacket and verso of title page; Glen M. Leonard, “Picturing the Nauvoo Legion,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 97, 98, 115, 117, 118, 121, 128–35; Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 2002), 371, 283. Not all of these paintings predate Joseph’s death.

¹⁵Andrew F. Smith, *The Saintly Scoundrel*, 393.

¹⁶Illustration for Lieutenant General Smith giving speech in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 174 (speech reprinted 192–94).

to achieve his goals and wanted to be at the forefront of any such deliberate actions. Why Joseph Smith never used the Legion as a vengeful force against its enemies puzzled him. Why have force and not use it?" (148). The evidence suggests Smith did use the legion as a military force. He called it out to prevent Missouri sheriffs who had arrested him from taking him back to Missouri,¹⁷ had it destroy the *Nauvoo Expositor* office,¹⁸ and had it guard Nauvoo from outside law enforcement.

Even if the Mormons did not see themselves as aggressors, their neighbors did. Hawkins Taylor, an Iowa sheriff, recollected in 1876 that the legion "was . . . very troublesome and did much harm."¹⁹ Its elaborate parade during the temple cornerstone ceremony in April 1841 was, according to Hallwas and Launius, the point at which Hancock County citizens no longer saw the Mormons "as mistreated seekers of religious freedom, but as a threat to the democratic order of the young American republic."²⁰

Lesson 4 for Joseph Smith was, in Richard Bennett's terms, that the legion's size was not a sign of offensive power and that "to go on the attack was not generally part of the Legion's purpose" (148), a point that overlaps considerably with Lesson 3. Bennett also asserts that, "as Nauvoo was to become one of the largest cities in the American West, the Legion grew in proportion with it" (145). While the point about proportionality is technically true, the legion had an estimated three thousand men in 1844; in comparison, the entire U.S. Army in 1844 was 8,500 strong.²¹ No other state militia unit approached this size. For the most part, independent units seldom exceeded a company. In Massachusetts, one of the most populous states, the number of active mili-

¹⁷The *National Intelligencer*, published in Washington, D.C., on January 9, 1844, 3/b, <http://www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu/MA/dnatint2.htm> (accessed March 11, 2011), reported these protective actions with a certain amount of skepticism: "THE MORMONS.—The Mormons have recently held a meeting at Nauvoo, at which they resolved that 'Joe Smith is not guilty of any charge made against him by the State of Missouri.' The city authorities have passed an ordinance directing the imprisonment for life of any person who shall come within the corporate limits of Nauvoo with a legal process for the arrest of Joe Smith, for any offence committed by him in Missouri during the Mormon difficulties. The Prophet Joe has also declared that he considers it his duty, as Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion and militia of Illinois, to enforce said ordinances."

¹⁸Hallwas and Launius, Introductory note and also Charles A. Foster letter in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 156–57.

¹⁹Quoted in *ibid.*, 54.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 55. Launius acknowledges that Thomas Sharp in particular labeled the legion's parade on this day as dangerous.

²¹D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1996), 106.

tia in the entire state for 1852 was 4,791.²²

Lesson 5 for Bennett was the right to discipline and court-martial enlistees. In a legal military setting, this would be a common rule.

I found that Bennett's chapter fell short in helping me understand how the military events of Missouri were lessons for Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. As I read the work of other historians and the relevant primary documents, I could not find the positive connection or lessons learned for Mormon use of the military in Missouri and Nauvoo. The most obvious examples would be that the Mormons faced armed violence from both legal and vigilante groups in both Missouri and Illinois, responded in both states with violence of their own (though not to a commensurate extent), and were expelled from both areas. I would like to see a more balanced treatment of the Nauvoo Legion and its connection to the Missouri period, if such a connection exists.

Chapter 9 by Fred Woods analyzes Mormon narratives of travel through Missouri, beginning with their expulsion in 1838–39 up to 1868. (Beginning in 1869, the Mormons began using the transcontinental railroad, of course.) Woods begins his essay with a provocative array of quotations from Missourians in the mid-nineteenth century about traveling through Salt Lake City, communicating fear for their lives at Mormon hands. Woods deals with this interesting interaction in greater detail in his "'Surely This City is Bound to Shine': Descriptions of Salt Lake City by Western-Bound Emigrants, 1849–1868," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 334–48. Woods then describes how Missouri served as a major thoroughfare for Mormon travel during the Nauvoo years, how employment in the state provided "economic salvation" for the Mormons during the 1846–48 migration from Illinois (156), and its popularity as a route for Utah-bound European converts.

He also describes the tragic explosion and burning of the steamboat *Saluda*.²³ If any one event illustrates the lack of practical application of Boggs's extermination order after 1838–39, this event is it. A majority of the passengers, and more specifically, of the dead, were Mormons. The people of Lexington, Missouri, buried the dead in their cemeteries, provided medical care for the injured, and gave money to the survivors so they could continue on their way to Utah. Lexington families even adopted two Mormon children

²²George Adams, *The Massachusetts Register: A State Record for the Year 1852* (Boston: Damrell and Moore, 1852), 44.

²³Woods has co-authored two other treatments of the *Saluda* episode with William Hartley: "Explosion of the Steamboat *Saluda*: Tragedy and Compassion at Lexington, Missouri, 1852," *Missouri Historical Review* 99, no. 4 (July 2005): 281–305; and *Explosion of the Steamboat Saluda: A Story of Disaster and Compassion Involving Mormon Emigrants and the Town of Lexington, Missouri, in April 1852* (Salt Lake City: Millennial Press, 2002).

who were orphaned by the explosion (159–60). Wood’s essay makes it clear that, even if Boggs’s extermination order was still on the books, it was essentially null and void in the minds and hearts of Missourians by 1840, despite Joseph Smith’s continuing fear of arrest (169).

The Missouri Mormon Experience is a welcome addition to other works about the nineteenth-century Mormon sojourn in Missouri and can stand proudly with them. We may hope that this effort will encourage other historians and scholars to continue researching and writing about this important period in both Mormon and Missouri history.

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Richard E. Turley and Steven C. Harper, eds. *Preserving the History of the Latter-day Saints*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center/Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010. 275 pp. Hardcover: \$21.99. ISBN 978-0-8425-2777-4

Reviewed by Matthew Bowman

In his engaging contribution to this interesting collection of eleven papers drawn from the February 2009 Church History Symposium sponsored by Brigham Young University, Ronald O. Barney informs us that the “archival side of the equation” of historical production “generally receives less attention” than the comparatively (but invariably in its own way, as anyone who has attended an academic conference may note) glamorous and celebrity-driven world of those who write history (220). Indeed. Much has been made recently in the circles of those who write and read Mormon history (including, I confess, by me) about the need to move beyond the New Mormon History, a term often associated these days with the stereotype of dry documentation and compulsive cataloguing of raw fact, to the seemingly seductive world of theory, interdisciplinary studies, and comparative work. But the distinction between the two should not allow us to create a false dichotomy between the tedium of the past and the glitz of the present.

Roughly half of the essays in this collection discuss the work of particular individuals who have played an important role in the preservation of LDS history, from studies of the early work of John Whitmer and William Clayton to reminiscences from contemporary pillars of the field like Barney and Ronald K. Esplin. (All the authors, as well as all the subjects, here are men—certainly an oversight, though an unfortunate one, given the number of women involved in

Latter-day Saint history from the past to the present.) The rest of the essays discuss particular challenges that confront the field and offer techniques that may be of use. Matthew Heiss, for instance, offers an impassioned call for greater attention to “the impossible:” the collection and documentation of the material that records the lives of Latter-day Saints around the globe, from Kenya to Nigeria to Latin America. As Heiss puts it, “The department is required to document an ever-expanding worldwide Latter-day Saint population. Currently there are more than thirteen million church members in 177 countries, territories, and protectorates. These Latter-day Saints speak many different languages, have had varying opportunities for education, and live in diverse economic circumstances; therefore, their record-keeping capabilities are uneven. Nevertheless, a record of their stories and history is essential” (231).

This is heady stuff, and indeed, several of these essays show us just how essential—and more, how interpretively rich—the hard work of chronicle can be. Telling examples are Robin Scott Jensen’s fascinatingly detailed study of the ciphers of Joseph Smith’s ledger books, Reid L. Neilson’s account of assistant Church historian Andrew Jenson’s single-handed and mighty efforts to globalize the Mormon imagination, and Benjamin E. Park’s extraordinarily fruitful application of the notion of “historical conscience” to the labors of noted diarist Wilford Woodruff.

And indeed, Park’s interpretation—and similar efforts in this volume, such as those of Scott C. Esplin on John Whitmer and James B. Allen’s tribute to William Clayton—go a long way toward unpacking that constant cliché about Mormons’ tendency to pass off history for theology by showing how precisely true it may, in fact, be. Esplin’s account of the struggle over the papers of Whitmer’s history is shot through with the uneasy subtext of Whitmer’s excommunication and its ramifications, not only for who should control the document, but also about the account’s very reliability. Over and over again, the authors here affirm either for themselves or by proxy for the subjects of their essays that Elder Marlin K. Jensen’s observation in the book’s first essay—that the “practical spiritual benefit and the eternal importance” of reading and writing the history of Mormonism cannot be overlooked (3). Indeed, in the efforts of men like Woodruff and William Clayton, who, Allen informs us, was promised that in the eternities his role would be “a scribe in the resurrection,” we see history as devotional practice—the acts of careful notetaking, journaling, and transcription as soul-winnowing to Latter-day Saints as the laborious copying of scripture were to medieval monks (85).

Richard E. Turley’s account of those who held the office of assistant Church historian before him is a list of men who saw a direct correlation between the production of history and the progress of the faithful, both individual and collective: Junius F. Wells, whose lifework could be summarized in the granite markers to Church leaders he left dotting the American landscape; A.

Milton Musser, whose service as a Church historian appears to have been largely in the Genealogical Society and its work to further proxy ordinances for the dead; A. William Lund, who, Turley tells us, shared his archives with a generosity precisely correlated with his sense of a project's ability to serve the Church. As Turley describes Lund's reticence, "He was generous in sharing his knowledge and expertise with anyone who he felt had the best interests of the church at heart, and he was less helpful if he felt the information would be used to the church's detriment" (35). This protectiveness may seem confusing or objectionable to historians trained in the halls of the contemporary academy; but when history is imagined as a devotional act, it leaps sharply into focus—and in a particularly Mormon way.

Park's Woodruff, Allen's Clayton, Neilson's Jensen: All of these men believed that it was not only a spiritual duty, but a spiritual discipline, to produce history as comprehensive and detailed as possible. There is something very Mormon about the love of craft here, the pride in skill and thoroughness, the devotion to the sheer time and effort such labor demands. The constant call—which, Park informs us, began with Woodruff—for the Saints to keep diaries and preserve their own past speaks to this sentiment. A similar sense permeates the essays of Ronald Barney and Ronald Esplin, both of whom speak with well-earned pride of the amount of talent, effort, and diligence devoted to the Church History Department in the past two generations.

And yet the work of Mormon history as imagined in this volume goes beyond mere technical mastery; Robin Jensen credits a sense of history with the ability to embrace "a godly perspective" and with "the power of narratives" (7, 11). For Jensen, no narrative is more relevant or powerful than that of the First Vision, and it is well that he cites it: It is the great example of the Mormon ability to make scripture out of history, charge stories of the past with spiritual weight and to make them, ultimately, verbal ritual. There is something primal about this; it's the very stuff of religion-making itself, though trained historians might recoil, and understandably so. But the work of this volume is as much the former task as it is the one they know.

Mark Grover's essay, which closes the book, chronicles the powerful appeal of oral histories, of storytelling, among Latin American Mormons and offers a plea for more work which connects their stories to those of American Saints. If these essays are to be believed, this is a task as much spiritual as it is procedural, and the LDS Church's renewed engagement with its own past more than merely a favor to the populations of America's history departments.

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Raymond Kuehne. *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State: A Documentary History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945–1990*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010. xvii, 450 pp. 10 pages of photos. Endnotes, bibliography. No index or maps. Cloth: \$59.95. ISBN: 978-0-87480-993-0

Reviewed by Alan Keele

Kudos to the University of Utah Press for publishing this excellent treasure trove of essential information about one of the most remarkable chapters not only of Mormon history but of world history! Yes, I steadfastly maintain that this is also a book about world history, for it reduces the intersection of the two great global forces of the Cold War—the capitalist West and the Communist East—to the microcosmic interactions of a relatively small number of living and breathing human beings, each as knowable and sympathetic to us as though they had been made into characters in a novel by someone like Leo Tolstoy. Viewed on a human scale, even gargantuan global calamities suddenly seem amenable to the simple, steady application of love, understanding, and mutual respect.

Consider this exquisite irony: For nearly half a century, an American church widely known for its conservative politics (culminating in the virulent anti-Communist rhetoric of prominent Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, who became Church president in 1985) actively and persistently sought and eventually achieved a cordial, peaceful coexistence with the German Democratic Republic (GDR), one of the most obdurate Communist regimes on the planet. Only had this scenario played out in North Korea would it be slightly more astonishing.

The author, Raymond Kuehne, states that one of his goals was to demonstrate that there are few situations in this world where Mormons can be prevented from exercising their moral agency, even if the outward practice of religion can be restricted: “Readers may wish to consider a basic theological question. What does God expect from every person, regardless of where and when he lives on this earth, and can any government create conditions in which man is incapable of meeting those expectations?” (xiii) Though Kuehne does not say so, one immediately thinks of the implications of his book for the possible future of Mormonism in China and other currently inhospitable countries around the globe.

One of the main characters in this narrative is Henry Burkhardt, whom

Kuehne first introduces as a very young, single man in Dresden in 1952. Eventually he became the de facto president of the Church in the GDR, in effect giving his entire life to the Church. To the political leaders of the GDR, Burkhardt is the face of Mormonism—eventually a trusted and respected face. Yet as admirable and as dutiful as Burkhardt had been in his work in East Germany, when he sat down—twenty years after their first meeting in 1955—(74) with President Spencer W. Kimball in Salt Lake City at general conference in 1975, President Kimball counseled him to make a quantum leap in his own thinking about how to interact with one's enemies. President Kimball surprised this paragon of virtues, who had never offended anyone in the GDR hierarchy, by saying: "If you want to see a change of things in East Germany, it must begin with you personally. It must begin with you, because you are the leader there, and you must have a change of heart, which means you must force yourself to befriend the Communists. You cannot hold any grudges against them. You must change your whole outlook and attitude" (249).

Burkhardt's (unstated) first response was: "You don't know the Communists. They are against religion, often threaten to throw me into prison, and constantly make trouble for me." Looking back, however, from the vantage point of 2003, he said: "It took a long time before I came to realize that Communists were also children of our Heavenly Father, and that I should deal with them accordingly, in a friendly manner. And from that time forth, miracle after miracle occurred in the history of the Church in this country. They became friendlier and more receptive to me, as a representative of the Church" (249).

President Kimball said essentially the same thing to Burkhardt's counselors, as they were also permitted by turns to travel to Salt Lake City to attend general conference. Gottfried Richter told Kuehne in 2003: "While preparing to attend General Conference, members told me, 'We will no longer accept such treatment from the government. We must hire a lawyer. We must resist.' Since it was my turn to attend General Conference, Brother Burkhardt told me to discuss it with Elder Monson. I did tell Elder Monson, and he said, 'Come with me.' He took me to see President Kimball, who listened carefully. Then he stood up, came to me, and said with his deep, sonorous voice, 'Brother Richter, soften the hearts of these people. Don't harden them.' He repeated that once more. This was the calm advice of a prophet. While the other churches hardened the hearts of those people, we softened them over time. I now repeat that advice so casually, but Brother Burkhardt absolutely could not abide the entire Communist society. He didn't like it at all, and it was not easy for him. He didn't want to curry favor with them, but he began to do what President Kimball had counseled, 'soften their hearts,' and it worked" (249).

Crucially, however, this softening of the hearts of the GDR's leaders did not involve pandering to them in political terms. True, the Mormons sought

to find common ground with the GDR leaders whenever possible, emphasizing, for example, the important, courageous, and effective position on world peace that Church leaders under President Kimball had taken in May 1981 in protesting the basing of the MX missile system in the Great Basin. Gottfried Richter describes a meeting of GDR church leaders with the secretary for Church Affairs, a man named Gysi, shortly afterward, who lectured about the "peace issue" and specifically mentioned that "an American church" had taken a position against "those special missiles." Richter "spoke up and said: 'Herr State Secretary, that wasn't an American church. It was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. They took a position on the MX Missile System, and as a result, the program collapsed.'" He quoted from the First Presidency's statement and, at Gysi's request, provided him with a copy. According to Guenther Behncke, "Honecker was aware of and very impressed by the First Presidency's position regarding the MX Missile and other statements of that period regarding peaceful resolution of international conflicts. These statements were repeated in several internal government documents" (251–52). This understanding was a huge plus for the Mormons in the Communist part of the world.

Likewise the Mormons in the GDR shared freely with their political counterparts quotations from President Kimball's momentous 1976 article on world peace "The False Gods We Worship." But they did not pretend that Mormonism and Communism were somehow profoundly compatible, as some less enviable persons had done earlier by glowingly comparing the Church with the Third Reich. Nor did these heroic and Christlike Latter-day Saints back away from their own beliefs in the slightest. They boldly, persistently, but invariably diplomatically declared to an atheistic society their belief in a Supreme Being and reminded any and all that the Constitution of the GDR guaranteed freedom of religion.

This book allows us better to evaluate one nagging major question: Was it a mistake in the end to befriend a dictatorship that unexpectedly collapsed anyway not long afterwards? This question sometimes arose in the minds of some GDR Mormons and in some U.S. anti-Communists and others, who criticized Apostle Thomas S. Monson, the designated Church representative to East Germany, for meeting and shaking hands with its head of state, Erich Honecker. I am personally persuaded that it was not a mistake, in large part because of the rich context of this book, which suggests the best, and most Christlike, way of dealing with one's enemies worldwide.

The book begins with an insightful foreword by University of Utah professor of history Ronald Smelser. A key to appreciating one of the most important aspects of this volume is found in the subtitle. The book is styled a "Documentary History," because it contains an unusual number of quotations from original sources, both written and oral. Kuehne, the U.S.-born son of immi-

grant German parents, served a mission in Germany and returned with his wife to serve as workers in the new Freiberg Temple (2002–4), one of the major fruits of the peaceful coexistence between Mormons and Marxists. Kuehne once asked Henry Burkhardt, who was then temple president, to enlighten the temple workers, many of them Americans, about how this miraculous thing had come about. Burkhardt gave them all some informal seminars and provided Kuehne with some jottings he had made about the history (xv). Kuehne then plunged into the project with gusto, interviewing Burkhardt more extensively. He began to interview many other witnesses and participants in addition to seeking out documentary materials in all sorts of archives, libraries, and private collections (described in the introduction). One could say that this is truly the work of an amateur in the original and best sense of the word: someone who loves what he does and, consequently, does it very well. (The book originally appeared in German from the Leipzig University Press in 2007, and Kuehne has ably rewritten/translated it into English.)

In the first of twenty chapters (following a brief introduction and chronology), Kuehne provides a very useful survey of the history of Mormonism in Germany before 1945. In Chapter 2, he discusses the era of the Soviet Military Administration (1945–49), thus setting the stage for the drama of the Church in Communist East Germany—the German Democratic Republic (GDR), founded in 1949.

Chapters 3–5 deal with the GDR before the Berlin Wall. Chapter 6 is about living with the Wall followed by one on how Mormons defined citizenship in a Communist state. Chapters 8–13 deal with missionary opportunities, Church youth programs, education and employment, the old meetinghouses, importing Church literature, and financial administration, respectively. Chapters 14–19 discuss improved relations with the regime in the 1970s and 1980s, the origins of the Freiberg Temple, new meetinghouses in the 1980s, the Honcker-Monson meeting of 1988, missionaries entering the GDR in 1989, and “the Wende”—the end of the GDR in 1990. Chapter 20, fittingly, is devoted to President Henry Burkhardt.

Kuehne begins with a traditional historical narrative, but in due time, he directs the reader more and more to statements by the eyewitnesses themselves, seamlessly tying his narrative to theirs. I found this technique—more reliant on eyewitnesses, slightly less on historiography—to be refreshing and totally appropriate to the subject. I felt that I was getting both an excellent context from Kuehne and the actual, living firsthand voices of those who had lived through this most remarkable era. Never did I have the impression I was reading a mere chronology.

Eleven valuable appendices give the reader the opportunity to peruse these eyewitness accounts and other information at greater length: A: “Travels of the Mission Leaders, 1945”; B: “Two Refugee Centers, 1945–1947”; C: “Re-

covery of Genealogical Records, 1946”; D: “Conferences, 1946–1948”; E: “Mission Choir Tour, 1949”; F: “Youth Pioneer Trek, 1962”; G: “The Rededication of the Land 1975 by President Monson”; H: “Origin of the Freiberg Temple, 1983”; I: “Freiberg Temple Open House and Dedication, 1985”; J: “Freiberg Temple Dedicatory Prayer”; K: “Membership Statistics.”

Though the book is not overly long, we nevertheless learn about a broad range of interesting things, from how one acquired property for Church meetings and renovated it with the blood, sweat, tears, and ingenuity of the members, to how one fed and housed large numbers of LDS refugees in the darkest days right after the capitulation in May 1945 (with a combination of ingenuity and inspiration), to how one traveled around a destroyed country. When the Mormons tracked down a whole castle full of Church parish registers, for example, which had been placed there by the Nazis for safekeeping (and which had already begun to be damaged by water and rodents, and to be used as fuel for local stoves), they managed to organize a tractor with a wagon to bring them down the steep hill from the castle (on an icy street) and to procure the use of a number of rail cars to haul these tons of important genealogical records to safety and present them to their proper owners, the Lutheran and other churches.

The account of how the Freiberg Temple came to be, with all the decisions involved, is itself worthy of the price of this book. How the members copied lesson manuals on typewriters (and how Brother Burkhardt later had to go around collecting all of them in his trailer and burning them in his stove because of a warning by someone in the secret police), how they dealt with the secret police generally, how they managed to get hymnals and other written materials into East Germany, how they sometimes bent the law moving cash back and forth (until it occurred to them to get a bank account in the East), how they organized amazing choirs and youth conferences (in the face of official doctrines that raising the youth was the job of the state), how they managed to be complete Latter-day Saints, and in some instances better Latter-day Saints than many in less difficult circumstances—all of these episodes deepen our understanding and our appreciation of remarkable people living in a remarkable era and of their basic humanity and basic Christianity—loving their enemies!—that made it all possible.

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Heidi S. Swinton. *To the Rescue: The Biography of Thomas S. Monson*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2010, xi + 588 pp. Photographs (80

pp.), endnotes, index. Cloth: \$34.99. ISBN: 13 978-1-60641-898-7

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera

Heidi Swinton (b. 1948), schooled as a journalist and the author of several other works of LDS history (including two written with her stepfather, Leonard J. Arrington), has produced an engaging, moving biography of the current president of the LDS Church. Swinton's aim and method strive not so much for academically oriented analysis as for explicitly faith-promoting *apologia*; and to approach her work as the former would be, I believe, misguided. For Swinton, President Thomas S. Monson not only embodies the best of his church's service-oriented mission but, more importantly, stands as a towering exemplar of Jesus's selfless mission to the poor and suffering. Swinton sees President Monson's life-story as comprising a string of "true" parables—President Monson's own preferred teaching tool—regularly punctuated by instances of God's intervention and morals of life-changing significance. "Thomas S. Monson," Swinton explains, "has lifted, encouraged, listened, counseled, and shared personal experiences, always for one single purpose—to encourage faith in the Lord Jesus Christ" (3). This one sentence structures and guides the flow of her faith-infused interpretation of President Monson's storied life.

Thomas Spencer Monson, born in 1927 to G. Spencer Monson and Gladys Condie Monson, grew up in downtown Salt Lake City's southwest side, surrounded by an extended family of mostly Swedish immigrants. He attended public schools and spent summers at the Condie family's cottage (which he now owns and has remodeled) in Provo Canyon's Vivian Park. He was "fun-loving," a "bit of a prankster," "curious, enthusiastic, fearless," "mischievous" but not "mean-spirited," as well as "rambunctious but teachable" (39, 44, 59, 69). During the closing months of World War II, he joined the Navy (Reserves) but did not see combat. Returning to school, he struggled with zoology and Spanish but did well in English, geography, and history. In fact, if he were to rethink the course of his professional life, "he would consider becoming a history professor" (79; also 288).

In 1948, President Monson graduated from the University of Utah and, on October 7 of that year, married Frances Beverly Johnson (b. 1927) in the Salt Lake Temple. He soon began working for the LDS Church-owned *Deseret News*, selling advertising. He subsequently became sales manager at the Deseret News Press and was eventually named general manager. He later chaired the board of directors of Deseret News Publishing, presided over the Printing Industry of Utah, and served on the board of the Printing Industry of America. Beginning as a youth and for much of his adult life, his prime hobbies were raising Birmingham Roller pigeons, fishing, and duck hunting. In his sixties,

he was diagnosed with Type II diabetes.

At age twenty-two, President Monson was called as bishop of his home LDS congregation, the Sixth-Seventh Ward, composed of some 1,080 members. He had never before read all of the Church's scriptures and set a goal, which he met, to read each by the end of his first year in office, seven months later (386). In 1955, he was called as second counselor in the area's Temple View Stake presidency. President Monson presided over the Church's Canadian Mission headquartered in Toronto (1959–62), then, on October 6, 1963, at age thirty-six, was sustained as the youngest by some thirty years to the Quorum of the Twelve. Swinton's discussion of President Monson's calling to the apostleship, including the administering of the apostles' charge, is especially enlightening (chap. 15). He served on numerous Church committees, including chairing the Scriptures Publications Committee, which produced, beginning in 1981, new editions of the Church's standard works. Swinton devotes three chapters (16–18) to President Monson's membership on Church-related boards and committees. Her treatment of these assignments presents an insightful history of Church administration and bureaucracy from the 1960s into the 1980s. In late 1985, President Monson was called as President Ezra Taft Benson's second counselor, making him, at age fifty-eight, the youngest member of a First Presidency since 1901. In January 2008, following service in two other First Presidencies and the death of President Gordon B. Hinckley, he was ordained as sixteenth president of the LDS Church. During President Monson's lifetime, LDS membership has grown from 650,000 to more than 13 million.

In 1968, President Monson was assigned to help supervise LDS affairs in Europe and took special interest in the lives of members in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), where government policies restricted religious expression and activity. President Monson continued off and on to oversee Church interests in East Germany and other Soviet-allied countries, dedicated East Germany for the "advancement" of LDS activities in 1975, helped to secure permission from the GDR to build an LDS temple in Freiberg (1982–85), and, in 1988, helped to facilitate the entrance into East Germany of LDS missionaries. The three chapters (19–21) on President Monson's involvement in East Germany are both an interesting account of the Church in Eastern Europe during the second half of the twentieth century and a revealing narrative of the Church's accommodation to non-democratic governments. "Whatever role politicians and presidents may have played" in contributing to the fall of Communism, Swinton suggests, in an assertion that articulates her faith-driven thesis, "reflection at the end of this dispensation may well show that it was the diligence and faith of the German Saints, coupled with the inspiration of modern-day prophets and the prayers of the faithful in all lands, that chipped away at that wall" (326).

In other areas of the biography, readers learn that President Monson stands six feet three inches tall; that his favorite television show is *Perry Mason*; that one of his favorite books is Henry Van Dyke's *The Mansion*; and that his favorite musicals include *The Student Prince*, *The Music Man*, *Camelot*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Showboat*, *Man of La Mancha*, *The Phantom of the Opera*, and *Annie* (8, 114, 358, 375). He likes Wheaties cereal, orange juice, lime-flavored yogurt, milk with meals, and cream of tomato soup (527). A longtime fan of the University of Michigan's football team (452), he dislikes night flights and his favorite European getaway is southern Germany (267, 486). A "prodigious" diarist, he has maintained a daily journal since his calling as an apostle in October 1963 (234, 9). In a break with recent tradition, President Monson retained his own secretary of some forty-three years, Lynne Fawson Cannegieter, when he was named as Church president, instead of employing a priesthood holder, as had been the case since 1971.

As President Monson today ponders his calling, he noted in an interview with Swinton: "I always considered myself as a bishop who erred on the side of generosity; and if I had it to do again, I would be even more generous" (150). According to his secretary, President Monson has given to needy members "up to ten suits a year for forty years, not to mention the other items of clothing he has shared" (316). "I have seen enough Presidents of the Church to see differences," LDS Apostle Dallin H. Oaks told Swinton. "Some are very conscious of policy and procedures and so on; President Monson, of all the leaders that I have observed, is concerned for the individual" (501). "His whole ministry," Elder David A. Bednar adds, in a statement that discloses something of what Church members have come to expect—and not expect—of their president, "is focused on discerning the needs of an individual and offering a smile or a pat on the back—doing some simple, very gracious thing that you never would really expect the President of the Church to do" (149).

In an interesting discussion of President Monson as a career Church administrator that she threads through several chapters, Swinton reports that he "has always been known as decisive and insightful, never imperious or dictatorial" (246). His leadership style "has always been to encourage expression of opinions and counsel, whether those ideas mirrored his thinking or not" (260). In addition, he prefers to surround "himself with able, faithful, dedicated individuals, who speak up and share their opinions, who work to their fullest. He believes strongly in committee efforts. He was not—and is not—a micromanager" (388). "There will come a moment," she quotes President Henry B. Eyring, President Monson's first counselor, as saying, "usually after a lot of hard work, lots of thinking, he does charts, he reads minutes, he really does his homework, asks for lots of opinion, . . . [and] will just say, after a lot of prayer, 'I think this is what we ought to do.' He waits until he receives revelation and then he acts" (428). "He wants your opinion," President Eyring adds,

“but he is very, very good at telling what your motives are. So if you shade anything for him at all, he sees it. If you hedge, he will say nicely but with a smile, ‘But you don’t help me. You don’t help me.’ He wants it absolutely straight. Most people like to win arguments. He likes to get at the truth. He is very interesting that way, very rare” (513).

Swinton’s interpretation privileges certain narrative strategies and structures. She explains this, in part, by suggesting: “To look for his [i.e., President Monson’s] failings is to suggest that mortals can measure and assess the life of such a singular servant of God” (ix). While Swinton includes stories of the youthful Tom Monson stealing a neighbor’s dog (35–36), giving false information to a federal game warden to avoid being ticketed for duck hunting without a license (81–82), duck hunting on Sundays (132–33), and ignoring some of his diabetes-related physical problems to the point of endangering his health (449–51), she has not incorporated a dozen or more revealing, sometimes humorous incidents that President Monson included in his own autobiography, *On the Lord’s Errand: Memoirs of Thomas S. Monson* (1985). Of these, the following four, extracted from President Monson’s published autobiography, are especially memorable:

I used to play with Danny Larsen, whose parents lived in Provo. I remember two experiences with Danny. We were hiking around the mountains one day and decided we would try smoking a weed called Indian tobacco. We successfully accomplished this, but then we both felt guilty. Danny picked some wild flowers for his mother. This turned out to be a mistake, for when we came to his cabin and he presented the flowers to his mother, she reached over and gave him a big kiss, smelled the aroma on his breath of the Indian tobacco and gave him a stern lecture. (*Errand*, 36)

One of the faith-promoting experiences surrounding my call as bishop occurred a few weeks earlier, when I was called to be second counselor to Brother [John] Burt. I indicated to him that [my wife] Frances and I were members of a bridge club which met periodically, and occasionally the group would be in our home. I pointed out that two of the men used tobacco and that I felt that I couldn’t ask them to cease when they were in my home; hence, it could be awkward if someone from the ward came to pay a visit on an ecclesiastical matter and found this situation. John suggested that the problem would work itself out. I then went with him to the office of Elder Harold B. Lee to be ordained a high priest and set apart as a counselor in the bishopric. As I sat down with Brother Lee, he didn’t ask me the usual questions concerning worthiness. He simply, and in an off-hand manner, asked, “Brother Monson, you don’t have to play cards for entertainment, do you?”

I said, “No.”

That was the end of the bridge club.

I rather enjoyed playing bridge, finding it fascinating to recall which cards had been played and anticipate which cards remained in the hand of each participant. (*Errand*, 125–26)

A most interesting character who lived in our ward was Blaine Wright. After he saw the film, *Samson and Delilah*, he let his hair grow long. He had been in the mental hospital in Provo, and his wife had been in the mental hospital in American Fork [Utah]. When I served as the bishop, one morning at 4 a.m. I received a telephone call from Sister Wright, indicating that Blaine was missing. I said, "When did he turn up missing?"

She said, "About three this morning."

I said, "Well, why don't you call the Police Department around five or six and see if they've found him."

She said, "I'll do that."

She called me back about six and indicated that Blaine had been found. Apparently he dreamed during the night that he had a mission to warn the world. Wearing nothing but long garments, he left his home in our ward, walked right through the boundaries of the Fourth Ward and into the Thirtieth Ward, knocked upon the door of a family, and when the head of the family answered at that early hour, he simply said, "Flee for your lives." The man thereupon called the Police Department, and Blaine was apprehended.

On another occasion Blaine was at outs with his wife and went to sleep in an old car which had been abandoned in an empty field. Some youngsters coming home from a movie were throwing rocks randomly at different objects, the light of the moon providing ample opportunity for them to engage in such an activity. One of the boys threw a rock at the old car in which Blaine was sleeping. To their horror, the door opened, and they thought they saw a ghost emerging from the car. It turned out to be Blaine. They ran home and told their parents, and once again the police were summoned, it being mistakenly felt that here was a man who was attempting to attack youngsters.

Probably the most memorable experience occurred when, one Sunday morning, there was a knock on the door to the bishop's office. As I opened the door, there was Blaine Wright, who hit me squarely in the eye with a doubled up fist. I subdued him and took him home. He somehow got it into his head that I had indicated that his wife was overweight. She surely was, but I have never made any comment pertaining to the fact. At any rate, I had a beautiful shiner.

Blaine then went on a rampage. He got into an argument with the aged mother of Wilbur Hamaker and then struck her in the eye when she didn't agree with him, causing her to lose permanently the sight in that eye. This placed him back in court where, when he was sentenced to some days in jail, the bailiff went to escort him from the stand, and Blaine struck the bailiff in the eye. The newspaper article heading said: "Wright Swings Right, But You're Wrong, Right?"

It was not long before Blaine was out of jail and once again a problem for the bishop of the ward into which he and Thelma had moved. (*Errand*, 140-41)

I think my most embarrassing experience occurred during this period [of being a ward bishop]. Elizabeth Keachie and her husband came to my

home one evening. She announced that she was going to undergo surgery in a few days and wanted me to give her a blessing. As she sat on a chair in our living room, I went to the kitchen pantry and retrieved what I thought was the consecrated oil. After Brother Keachie and I had administered to Elizabeth, they took their departure from our home, filled with faith and encouraged by the blessing. Frances then asked: "What did you use in giving Sister Keachie that blessing?"

I said, "The bottle of consecrated oil which was on the shelf in the pantry."

She replied, "The consecrated oil is still here in the pantry!"

I retrieved the bottle of what I thought was consecrated oil from atop the radio in our living room, only to discover that rather than using consecrated oil, we had used a small bottle of insect repellent in providing this sacred blessing to Sister Keachie. The operation was a success, however, and she attributed much of its success to the blessing she had received. Never did she realize the error I had made. (*Errand*, 159–60)

Nor does Swinton attempt to interrogate, analyze, or critically evaluate any aspect of President Monson's life (including problems in his own family) or of recent LDS history. I was most aware of this disinclination in her treatment of President Monson's helping to expand Church interests in East Germany. Here the Church seemed willing, even eager, not only to emphasize those aspects of its theology, such as members' loyalty to secular governments and avoidance of political controversy, that it believed best demonstrated its patriotism and civic flexibility, but also to accommodate the demands of a Communist government whose treatment of its citizens contradicted the Church's own religious and humanitarian teachings. I realize that such analysis is not Swinton's goal, so I look forward to more probing treatments of President Monson's and the Church's interactions with East Germany and other Communist regimens. (Raymond Kuehne's work, including his *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State: A Documentary History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945–1990* [University of Utah Press, 2010], represents a starting point.)

I do not necessarily intend these comments as critical of Swinton's decision not to include more humanizing stories or to avoid critical interpretation. The initial draft of her biography was some 900 typed pages long, which she had to reduce to a more manageable 600 pages. "In the process," she explains, "many accounts were taken out simply because of space. I made the cuts and the editorial decision about what finally was included. Frankly, there were so many engaging true accounts from his life that it was hard to choose" (Swinton, email to Bergera, February 28, 2011). It is always presumptuous to second-guess an author's decisions; I find it difficult not to think, however, that Swinton may have worried that some of these true stories might have been read in ways that could have reflected poorly, from

Swinton's perspective, on President Monson.

And certainly by any measure, Swinton's accomplishment is herculean. In the short space of twenty months, beginning in June 2008 when President Monson invited her to tackle his biography, she produced a finished first draft. She was given access to President Monson's personal papers and read all of his public and private talks, his autobiography, his correspondence, and the forty-eight volumes of his personal diary. "His diaries read like his talks," she notes; "they are filled with accounts of people he knows or meets and how he learns from them. His journals are not a chronicle of what happened in the many meetings he attended but rather focus on those he has visited, met with often to extend calls, given blessings to or lessons he has learned in his interactions" (*ibid.*). She also conducted in-depth interviews with President Monson, as well as briefer interviews with a score or more of other General Authorities. (Hopefully, these materials will someday be available to researchers.) She spent mornings, from about 4:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M., writing; researched throughout much of the rest of the day; then wrote again in the evening until about 11:00 P.M. "I felt compelled (my own pressure)," she explains, "to get it done so that members of the Church could know him and learn from his experiences" (*ibid.*). When asked about the accuracy of President Monson's many stories, considering the fallibility of memory, Swinton answers: "I constantly looked for the 'other side of the story.' I went to East Germany and Toronto, Canada, to interview those who knew him when he had responsibility in those areas which so shaped his ministry. I read letters from those who had interaction with him, interviewed more than 50 people including family, friends, neighbors, Church and community leaders. I had full access to the files in the Church archives. What I discovered was that there was often more to the account but his reflections were accurate" (*ibid.*). While President Monson could veto any of the book's contents, he "did not ask that anything I included be removed" (*ibid.*).

After twenty months of researching and writing, plus a few more months for editing, revising, designing, and typesetting, Swinton's book went to press on August 18, 2010, with President Monson himself pressing the ON switch. In fact, pressman that he remains, President Monson personally approved the interior and exterior design of the book, double-checked some design specifications such as margins and leading, selected the endsheets and the interior paper (a cream-colored off-white, presumably for better readability), approved the cloth and faux-leather materials used to wrap the boards and spine, and even stipulated a ribbon bookmark (Trent Toone, "A Book 'Befitting of a Prophet,'" September 27, 2010, www.mormontimes.com; retrieved January 29, 2011.) As of March 2011, some 140,000–150,000 copies of Swinton's book were in print (Sheri Dew, email to Bergera, March 1, 2011). (For every copy sold, Swinton nets about two or so dollars in royalties.)

The only drawback with regards to the structure of the book I encountered was with the index, which does not contain a separate entry for President Monson. Evidently, readers and researchers are expected to locate in other entries the items regarding President Monson that they are looking for. In comparison, the indexes to the biographies of all of the following LDS Church leaders released by the same publisher during the past decade or so have a separate entry for the subject of the biography: Ezra Taft Benson, George Q. Cannon, James E. Faust, Gordon B. Hinckley, Howard W. Hunter, Spencer W. Kimball, Bruce R. McConkie, and Hyrum Smith. That the index to President Monson's biography lacks such an entry cannot be satisfactorily explained, at least to my mind, as reflecting an alternate approach to indexing, but must be acknowledged as a miscalculation that, unfortunately, somewhat limits the book's usefulness to readers and researchers.

Swinton's book raises many questions regarding the impossible art and craft of biography. No book will ever capture fully the many variegated contours of an individual life. Any book can only offer, at most, a glimpse, one colored more or less equally by the subject's own experiences as by the biographer's own approach and assumptions. Swinton's book presents one such interpretation that enables readers to gain insight into certain aspects of President Monson's life. At the same time, Swinton's book also tells us something of the nature of Swinton's own faith and of her reverence for and admiration of President Monson. I appreciate that Swinton's portrayal of President Monson carefully emphasizes certain colors and hues, angles and perspectives, lights and shadows, over others. That said, I also look forward to a commissioned biography of a sitting LDS Church leader undertaken by an experienced historian who brings to his or her task a training and set of skills that, at least in theory, results in an equally insightful, albeit more multi-faceted and perhaps even richer portrait.

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Edward Leo Lyman, ed. *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889–1895*. SIGNIFICANT MORMON DIARIES SERIES, NO. 12. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2010. liii, 800 pp. Photograph, notes, index. Cloth: \$125.00. ISBN: 978-1-56085-210-0

Reviewed by Kenneth L. Cannon II

Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle: The Diaries of Abraham H. Cannon, 1889–1895 is an excellent edition of important diaries from a late nine-

teenth-century Mormon Church leader. The limited-edition volume is handsome, like all of Signature Books' Significant Mormon Diaries Series, and well-edited. It richly deserved its Best Documentary Book Award from the Mormon History Association awarded in spring 2011. Abraham Cannon's singularly detailed diaries provide an important insider's view of 1890s Utah, the LDS Church, interactions among Church leaders, business development and personalities, politics, the Panic of 1893, and Cannon himself.

The diaries are not only a treasure trove of historical information; as edited by Edward Leo Lyman, they are almost readable as an integrated narrative text of Cannon's life for the years the volume covers. Lyman knows perhaps more than anyone about the people, issues, movements, and politics discussed in Cannon's diaries, and his excellent introductory essay, periodic footnotes with explanations and references to helpful secondary sources (often his own), and descriptions of "prominent characters" all add to the quality and usefulness of the volume. *Candid Insights* represents a significant amount of hard work and careful, effective editing and annotating.

This volume covers from October 1889, when Abraham H. Cannon ("Abram" to friends and family) was called as an apostle, through the end of 1895. Lyman faced difficult choices, not only in choosing where to begin the diaries (which Cannon started keeping at age twenty in October 1879, shortly before he left on his mission to Switzerland and Germany), but also what entries and portions of entries to include. He focuses on politics and "the evolutionary process of Church leaders as they struggled to accommodate the political realities of the time," which he terms "the most valuable contribution of Cannon's diaries," and Abram's extensive business dealings, but also includes important entries on theological developments and Abram's own spiritual development and life. The diaries are superb from start to finish. Their extraordinary detail makes deciding what to include an extremely difficult, even impossible, task. The inevitable decision to limit the abridgment of the diaries to one volume meant that most entries in the diaries could not be included.

The volume ends abruptly on December 31, 1895, six and a half months before Cannon's untimely death at age thirty-seven, because the 1896 diary has never surfaced. Those last months of his life were clearly rich with activity, including his infamous post-Manifesto polygamous marriage to Lillian Hamlin in June 1896. The absence of that last diary is painful.

While the book is not perfect and the choices made of what to include and not to include are not always exactly as I might have chosen, Lyman's edition will make important portions of the extraordinary Cannon diaries more accessible than they have been and, I hope, introduce more people to the fascinating and more-complex-than-expected Abraham Hoagland Cannon and parts of his busy life.

When reading the diaries, one is struck quickly by the mildly obsessive-compulsive aspects of Cannon's personality. Most Cannons I have known have been obsessive counters, and Abram took this trait of noting details to unusual lengths. Each Thursday, after the regularly scheduled meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency, he would dutifully record when the meeting began, who attended (and who did not), who gave the opening prayer and who offered the prayer at the altar, who did and did not dress in temple robes, at what point the First Presidency joined the Apostles, and what had been discussed in the meeting. This unusual detail provides an almost unique look into the proceedings of the highest leadership bodies of the Church of the time as they navigated perhaps the most difficult transitions in culture, doctrine, and practice in the history of the Church. An interesting sidelight Cannon provides is that, before the completion of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893, the leaders consecrated a special room in the Gardo House for these meetings and installed an altar for their group prayers.

Indications of Abram's obsessive-compulsive personality are shown in other details. He routinely spoke in stake conferences, meetings in the Tabernacle and Assembly Hall, and in general conferences. For most meetings, he noted who spoke, the topic (or topics) of each speaker, and the amount of time each took. Thus, in a characteristic entry, after a stake conference held in Provo on Sunday, August 30, 1891, Abram noted that John Henry Smith spoke for half an hour on intemperance, he (Abram) spoke for thirty minutes on the indifference of the Saints, Francis M. Lyman spoke for fifty minutes on the Word of Wisdom, Wilford Woodruff spoke for half an hour on duties, and stake president Abraham Owen Smoot spoke briefly about the "opposition he has always shown to the liquor traffic wherever he has lived and labored" (246). Cannon would also confide to his diary when he "felt free" in speaking and when he did not, indicating whether or not he had felt inspired to say what he had said (74, 546).

Though not included in this abridgement of his diaries, Abram almost daily recorded other information, such as the day's weather. In earlier volumes of his diary, not included in this edition, Abram would dutifully note with which wife he stayed that night, always trying to be careful to spend the same amount of time with each wife.¹

Cannon noted debts he owed and loans he obtained to cover his debts, his father's debts, and his businesses' debts. At one point in December 1894, Abram confessed to his diary: "A great part of my time is occupied in devising

¹See, e.g., unpublished portions of Abram's diaries, June 9–20, 22, 25, July 5–6, 8–9, 11, 19, 27, 30, September 7, 1882, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Cannon, Unpublished Diary).

ways and means to meet our notes and other bills" (577). He recorded discounts that he, Heber J. Grant, and his brother Frank J. Cannon were sometimes required to give in order to sell bonds of Mormon businesses. In March 1895, he noted the details of illegal "rebates" he received from the Union Pacific and Rio Grande Western for agreeing to have Bullion-Beck ore transported over those railroad lines (616).

Abram Cannon likely used his meticulous diary-keeping as therapy in dealing with the anxiety that no doubt accompanied his moderately obsessive-compulsive nature. This anxiety sometimes manifested itself openly in his diaries, as when in April 1888 he pleaded with his father, George Q. Cannon, to grant him an honorable release as one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventy because of his difficulty in preaching to the people. His father basically advised him to "buck up" (Cannon, Unpublished Diary, April 6, 1888). Historians and observers alike are well-served and should be grateful for Abram's obsessive-compulsive disorder and the self-help therapy he engaged in through keeping his diaries. His unusually good penmanship and the subsequent typing of his diaries (beginning in 1892) no doubt stem from the same personality traits and make for easy reading, even in photocopies of the original diaries, which are available at several archives in Utah.

The reason Cannon's diaries are historically significant is their unique wealth of information on Church, political, business, and social matters. Individuals, issues, and challenges come alive as one reads the lengthy entries. Lyman has done an admirable job of including most entries relating to these matters, though these are all included at the expense of other types of entries such as those involving more personal matters.

For example, the best source on the thinking of the senior-most Church leaders on the Manifesto and the official end of polygamy is these journals. In November 1891, the entire First Presidency and many of the apostles testified under oath before federal Master of Chancery Charles F. Loofborouw as the Church leaders sought a return of property escheated to the federal government under the Edmunds-Tucker Act. On the advice of counsel, most, including Church President Wilford Woodruff, testified that the Manifesto was intended to ban unlawful cohabitation as well as new polygamous marriages. These assurances directly contradicted what President Woodruff had told the apostles shortly after the issuance of the Manifesto. In an oft-quoted passage from Cannon's diary entry of November 12, 1891, Woodruff stated that "he was placed in such a position on the witness stand that he could not answer other than he did [that is, that the Manifesto was intended to prohibit polygamous cohabitation as well as new marriages]; yet any man who deserts and neglects his wives or children because of the Manifesto should be handled on his fellowship" (270). This contradiction obviously created tension and confusion; even insiders like Heber J. Grant wondered whether he was supposed to

be living with his plural wives (269). Abram himself had three wives at this point. Woodruff and his counselors eventually made clear (at least to insiders) their view that polygamists like Abram should continue to live in existing marriages but exercise great caution not to be caught and prosecuted.

Possible beginnings of post-Manifesto polygamy also appear in Abram's diaries (562, 563, entries of October 19, 24, 1894). Heightening the tension was a difficult situation for the Cannon family. George Q. Cannon was genuinely worried because a favorite son, David Hoagland Cannon (Abram's younger full brother) had died on a mission in Silesia before he had been able to marry and have children. The elder Cannon relied heavily on Abram for many things, so he turned to this obedient son and asked him to marry a woman who would be sealed to David so that Abram could "raise seed" to his younger brother. The diary evidences that, when asked to find a woman who would be sealed to David but married to Abram for time, Abram indicated an interest in his first cousin, Ann Mousley Cannon. He had already married Annie's half-sister, Wilhelmina, as his second wife. Ann's father, Salt Lake Stake President Angus M. Cannon, was willing, and some courtship clearly occurred; but critical pages from the diary that may have recorded more details—indeed, including whether they were, in fact, married, were removed before the original diaries were donated to BYU's Special Collections (563–65). Lyman does not point out that the October 30, 1894, entry, which may have provided this information about Abram and Annie, is missing, although he does note earlier (xxi, xxvi) that some pages are missing from the original diaries.

In Lyman's introductory essay, he joins B. Carmon Hardy in concluding that Abram and Ann were probably married during this time period but did not have children.² No record of a marriage between Ann Mousley Cannon and Abram (or anyone else) has ever been found; and Lyman and Hardy base their conclusion that the lovely, intelligent Annie married Abram on her failure to marry anyone else, although she no doubt had a number of proposals.³ Ann probably was sealed vicariously to David, who Abram stated had "taken Annie through the temple veil in life" (563). My own view is that they courted but, for whatever reason, did not marry. My basis for this view is largely personal, based on family personalities and traditions. My father's next-door

²Introduction, xx–xxi; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 217.

³Ann M. Cannon served as a board member and general officer in the Young Ladies Improvement Association for decades and lived to almost age eighty. *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 7, 1900 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 42 (hereafter cited as *Conference Report*); *Conference Reports* for October 6, 1908, 125; and October 10, 1920, 175.

neighbor and favorite aunt as he was growing up was Wilhelmina Cannon Cannon Ellis, Abram's second wife, who was the full sister of my father's father. "Aunt Minie" as she was universally known to nieces, nephews, and even descendants, was Angus M. Cannon's oldest child and was a strong-willed, outspoken matriarch who testified in the Smoot hearings that her husband Abram's early and untimely death had been caused by his June 1896 plural marriage to Lillian Hamlin.⁴ Mina was rarely reluctant to tell anyone about her first husband's plural marriages and appears to have been particularly fond of telling stories to my grandmother, who was also her cousin. There is no family tradition, from Mina or anyone else, that Abram and Annie were married. If this marriage had occurred, it seems highly likely that Mina and other family members would have talked about it. Instead, Ann was always described in family circles as a "maiden aunt," with no reference to a possible secret marriage to Abram. As noted, I would not be the slightest bit surprised to learn that she was sealed to the deceased David Cannon; but in the absence of documentation, even that possibility must remain hypothetical.

In addition to discussions of the Manifesto and plural marriage, the diaries include descriptions (and sometimes recount relatively significant changes in viewpoints) of other doctrinal matters, such as blacks and the priesthood (140), the nature of the Holy Ghost (525), whether proxy second anointings could be performed for deceased members (the leaders approved such a proxy ordinance [676]), the law of adoption (488), the likely fate of those who commit suicide (Abram and his father took a hard-line position that they could not have Christian burial and their graves could not be dedicated [149, 725]), and others. As Thomas Alexander has pointed out, many important doctrinal matters were somewhat "transformed" during the 1890s, and Abram Cannon's diaries provide an insider's view of many of these changes.⁵

The diaries also provide a front-row seat to the extraordinary efforts taken to see that the Salt Lake Temple would be dedicated on April 6, 1893, the fortieth anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone of the temple in 1853. Lyman

⁴U.S. Senate, Committee of Privileges and Elections, *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 4 vols., 59th Cong., 1st sess., S. Rept. No. 486 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904–6), 2:143–44. As Lyman notes (xxi–xxiii), Lillian Hamlin had some kind of relationship with David H. before he left on his mission and attended the family gathering following his funeral. It is not clear whether she had been engaged to David (Lyman joins those who believe she was), but they certainly had courted and had future plans.

⁵Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 60–74, 258–306.

describes how the Panic of 1893 had started a year earlier in Utah, making the financial requirements for finishing the temple during this period truly staggering (315, 324–25, 381–83).

Cannon's diary shows how desperate he and most of his fellow leaders felt before, during, and after the Panic of 1893 over financial commitments and the on-going tensions generated by this economic hardship. After Abram, George Q. Cannon, and Abram's older brother, John Q. Cannon, took over the management and publication of the *Deseret News* in late 1892, Abram sometimes struggled to meet the payroll for the newspaper's staff and other costs and once stated that he had spent over \$10,000 of his own money to cover the newspaper's costs between 1892 and mid-1895 (681). He was also in financial straits in other business ventures.

Politics were often on the minds of Church leaders during this difficult time, and political differences often caused relatively bitter feelings. The Mormon People's Party was disbanded during the time covered by Abram's diaries and he recounts some of the controversies surrounding this important decision to encourage members to join the national parties. Many Church leaders became ardent Republicans, but Moses Thatcher, Heber J. Grant, and others became Democrats. Abram Cannon, who considered himself neutral on political matters, commented on both sides and tried to maintain good relations between the brethren with differing political views. The First Presidency believed that supporting Republican office holders would lead to statehood and worried because most Mormons leaned toward the Democratic Party. In an entry memorable because of its striking difference from today, Abram recorded that the Quorum of the Twelve "favored John Henry [Smith]'s going on the stump so as to convince the people that a man could be a Republican and still be a Saint" (231). A secret committee was created to "act in political matters" to try to make sure members of the Church affiliated with both the Republican and Democratic parties (232). Abram sometimes recorded differences among his fellow leaders and worried about the possible effects these differences could have on their cohesiveness and unity. In a representative entry from October 25, 1894 (as elections were drawing near), Abram wrote:

At two o'clock I was at my Quorum meeting. . . . Prayer was given by Jos. F. Smith, and Father was mouth at the altar. We had some talk about temple ordinances, and then branched off to politics, in the discussion of which considerable warmth was shown by some of the brethren. Brigham Young [Jr.] felt the temple was not the proper place for the discussion of such subjects, but nevertheless the matter was continued till the desire of the Presidency was expressed that the Republican ticket should win in the Territory. This desire seemed to annoy Heber J. Grant, and in speaking to me on politics he manifested an anger or suppressed spirit that surprised me. The warmth he showed astonished me very much. (564)

Abram, always hard-working, earnest, and dutiful, worked harder and harder as he became increasingly prominent in business circles from year to year. He was an officer and/or director of four or five banks, the infamous Bullion Beck Champion Mining Company, the Sterling Mining Company, the Utah Company, the Cannon Grant & Co., the Tontine Investment Company, and the Guano Company. He aggressively pursued the development of a railroad from the Union Pacific's southern terminus in Milford, Utah, to the West Coast (either San Diego or Los Angeles).

His diary also reports the political intrigues of those who controlled these businesses. The infighting involved such men as Isaac Trumbo, John Beck, Simon Bamberger, Henry Ryan, Moses Thatcher, Theodore Meyer, Robert C. Lund, Robert Brewster Stanton, Hiram B. Clawson, and many others. He met often with potential investors, interacted closely with his father and his brother Frank, and worked toward making a fortune. One of many rich areas for speculation about what might have happened if Abram had lived longer is whether he would have been successful in completing the ambitious railroad plans and whether he could have negotiated enough peace among the contentious groups to make some of the mining ventures profitable in the long run. Lyman states his view that Abram may well have "shepherded" two important ventures, the Sterling gold mine in Nevada and the railroad, "through their beginnings. . . . Unfortunately, both ventures fell apart after his death, but they would have established him as one of the most prominent businessmen in the region" (xiii).

Important details emerge from the diaries about the lengths to which the Church would sometimes go to get a fair chance in litigation, in the press, or in the treatment of polygamists. Cannon quite candidly suggests that the Church bribed U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field to help ensure decisions favorable to the Church in 1892 (373), and he alludes to a number of bribes to local law enforcement officials to keep them from arresting or pursuing polygamists (153, 411–12). In one of the most intriguing of these, Abram recorded his belief that Hiram B. Clawson, whom he did not trust, had kept most of the funds entrusted to him instead of bribing local deputies as instructed (629–30).

Other details or suspected details about prominent Mormons are recorded. Orson F. Whitney's flirtation with belief in the "transmigration of souls," a form of reincarnation propounded by brothers Charles and Arthur Stayner (who were also involved in the Bullion-Beck mining matters), worried Abram and other leaders (694, 700, 713, 725, 750, 751).

Important family information, such as temple ordinances, is sometimes included. Abram stood proxy for grandfather George Cannon and his sister Mamie for grandmother Ann Quayle in sealing the grandparents to their children (151–52), although more editorial information about those participating would have been helpful. The June 7, 1893, entry recording the sec-

ond anointing of Abram and his three wives is among the personal information Lyman included (389). Lyman did not include (appropriately, in my view) fascinating entries regarding instructions Abram was given when he began performing sealings and the text of the sealing ordinance recorded by Abram in his diary (Cannon, Unpublished Diary, September 28, 1892).

There are a number of small mistakes in annotations in the edited diaries, many of them involving details about extended Cannon family members. Lyman often includes in introductory material, brackets, or footnotes helpful brief descriptions of people Abram mentions. In his summary of Angus M. Cannon's families in the introductory materials, Abram's second wife, Wilhelmina, and her ne'er-do-well brother, Angus Jr., are listed as twins, born in 1860. In fact, Mina was born in July 1859, and Angus Jr. was born in September 1861. Lyman misidentifies Abram's half-brother, Angus Jenne Cannon (referred to in the diary simply as "Angus"), as Angus Mousley Cannon Jr., whom Abram met in New York while "Angus" was returning home from a mission to Germany (99). Angus M. Cannon Jr. never went on a mission, but Angus Jenne Cannon did return from Germany at that time. Hugh J. Cannon, a son of George Q. and his second wife, Sarah Jenne Cannon, is described as a "step-brother" (362, 368), leaving the impression that Hugh and Abram were not biologically related. In fact, they were both sons of George Q. Cannon and were thus half-brothers. George Q.'s plural wives other than Abram's mother, Elizabeth Hoagland, are sometimes referred to in brackets as his "step-mothers" (369). While this designation is probably technically true (with a stepmother defined as a wife of one's father who is not one's mother), in Mormon parlance sister wives are generally called "Aunt," a convention that Abram followed. Other family relationships are sometimes understandably missed, given the large number of Cannons with the same names. For example, Abram noted on October 21, 1894 that he "took lunch at Aunt [first wife] Sarah's, where [second wife] Mina and the children also ate" (562). Abram never would have referred to his first wife, Sarah, as "Aunt." This reference is clearly to Sarah Jenne Cannon, his father's second wife. Lyman identifies with brackets "Lewis" and "Mamie" as Abram's "[nephew]" and "[wife]" when Abram mentions that they were living in George Q. Cannon's "Big House" at 206 West South Temple. In fact, they were his cousin, Lewis M. Cannon, and Lewis's wife (and Abram's younger full sister) Mary Alice Cannon Cannon (yet another marriage of Cannon cousins) (351).⁶ In a similar entry, Charles Cannon (whose wife was listed as Ida) is identified as Abram's "half-brother." He was, in fact, Abram's cousin

⁶Family group records of Lewis M. Cannon and Mary Alice Cannon, www.familysearch.org (accessed April 2011). Abram's third wife, Mary Eliza Young

Charles, who was married to Ida Daynes (566).⁷

In his introductory essay and in later footnotes, Lyman describes the construction and location of the houses Abram built for his three wives on “800 West” in Salt Lake City (xvi, 331 note 18, 387 note 5). Abram’s farm and the houses *were* along “Eighth West”; but Salt Lake City’s street naming conventions changed; in the 1890s (and for many years after) Eighth West was today’s 900 West. Though houses were numbered from East Temple (Main Street) and South Temple, streets on the west and north sides were counted from West Temple and North Temple.⁸ Abram built three substantial homes for his three wives in late 1891 and 1892 on his farm on the west side of “Eighth West” in what is now Jordan Park and the International Peace Gardens in the Glendale neighborhood of Salt Lake City, several blocks north of George Q. Cannon’s farm. The houses were numbered 936 South, 962 South, and 986 South 900 West.⁹

More problematic than these small, understandable errors is Lyman’s somewhat differential treatment of men and women in the abridgement of the diaries. Admittedly, men play the dominant role in the diaries; but women, particularly Abram’s wives, sisters, sisters-in-law, cousins, and George Q.’s wives, also appear prominently and often. In almost any given day’s entry, Lyman inserts in brackets the full names of men referenced when the actual diary lists only initials or the last name of the person referred to. As nineteenth-century writers often did, Abram usually identified men with whom he interacted by the initials of their first or first and middle names. For example, on November 9, 1893, those attending a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve were identified in the original diaries as “L Snow, FD Richards, JH Smith, HJ Grant.” These are edited as “L[orenzo] Snow, F[ranklin] D Richards, J[ohn] H[enry] Smith, H[eber] J Grant” (436–37). Sub-

Croxall, was “Mame.” His sister Mary Alice was “Mamie.”

⁷Family group records of Charles M. Cannon and Ida M. Daynes, www.familysearch.org (accessed April 2011).

⁸These confusing conventions were not applied on the east and south streets because the “0” coordinates for east and south were (and are) South Temple and East Temple (Main), whereas the Temple streets on the west and north, West Temple and North Temple had (and have) “100” coordinates. An even more confusing aspect of trying to track streets in nineteenth-century Salt Lake City is east-west streets south of Ninth South (which was also 900 South). Tenth South is today’s 1300 South, Eleventh South is now 1700 South, Twelfth South is now 2100 South, Thirteenth South is now 2700 South, and Fourteenth South is now 3300 South. See, e.g., *R. L. Polk & Co.’s Salt Lake City Directory, 1893* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1893), 72–79 (hereafter *Polk’s Directory* by year); *Polk’s Directory, 1911*, 50–58; 1898 Sanborn insurance map of Salt Lake City, Salt Lake City Public Library (hereafter Sanborn Map).

⁹*Polk’s Directory, 1893*, 193; 1894–95, 203–5; *Utah Gazetteer, 1892–93* (Salt Lake City: Stenhouse, 1892), 195–96; 1911 Sanborn Map, Vol. 2, sheet 163.

sequent references to the same individuals in that day's entry are not annotated this way. Although senior Church leaders like these may not need such further identification, the identification of others throughout the edited diaries is extremely helpful and Lyman has done yeoman service in identifying many such as [John E.] Dooly, [Theodore] Meyer, [Robert C.] Lund, [Charles W.] Stayner, and C[harles] E. Loose. Even such men frequently referred to in the diaries as Abram's brothers are generally bracketed as follows: John Q. [Cannon] and Frank [J. Cannon] (43, 60).

Women, on the other hand, are rarely referred to in the edited passages of this volume (though they appear more frequently in the originals) and are not generally identified by full names. Wives, sisters, cousins, sisters-in-law, aunts, daughters Mame, Mamie, Mattie, Mina, Sarah, Sarah, Rosa, Ann, Annie, Mary Alice, Leonora, and Della are rarely identified with bracketed middle or last names or even by reference to what relationship they had to Abram or other men. In the instances when such annotation is provided, it is very helpful. For example, in an entry regarding a family gathering in November 1891, wife "Mina [Wilhelmina Mousley Cannon]" had wife "Sarah [Sarah Ann Jenkins Cannon]" and wife "Mame [Mary Eliza Young Croxall Cannon]" and their children over for dinner. Abram happily noted on this occasion that "this is the first time in my life that my whole family has been together" (275).

As in many of the Significant Mormon Diaries series published by Signature Books, this volume has a relatively long section called "Prominent Characters" in the introductory section. Here we have an eighteen-page listing and descriptions of 169 "prominent characters," presumably those who might have an important or contributory role in the diaries. Only one woman is listed, Susa Young Gates, who, according to the index, is referred to but once in the volume, in connection with Abram's agreement to become half-owner of the *Young Woman's Journal* in January 1890 (56). None of Abram's wives, sisters, cousins, his mother's sister-wives, or the women he courted but did not marry are listed in this section, even though Abram enjoyed relatively happy relationships with the women in his life. This focus on males is both somewhat unfortunate and not entirely representative of Abram's life. A few men who played important roles are also omitted from the "Prominent Characters" section. The most egregious of these is probably Abram's brother Frank J. Cannon, who was the same age as Abram and was, for much of Abram's life, his best friend. Though omitted from "Prominent Characters," there is a good deal about Frank in the introductory essay and in footnotes. Most of these notes and introductory remarks evidence the editor's understandable distaste for Frank, but this is hardly a reason to leave such an important character out of the biographical section.

More annotated information would have been helpful in a tender entry from October 1890. The diary records that "Father, Uncle Angus, John C.

Naegle, Aunts Mary Alice, Annie and Leonora, Mamie, Rosa and others” including “Uncle David” visited the Logan Temple together to perform ordinances. These individuals were George Q. Cannon, his brothers, Angus M. and David H. Cannon, his three sisters, Mary Alice Cannon Lambert, Ann Cannon Woodbury, and Leonora Cannon Gardner, Abram and several of his siblings, including Mamie, Rosa, and others. None is identified by a bracketed last name or relationship to Abram, although some are referred to in the original as “Aunts” and “Uncles.” That day, Abram and his sister Mamie stood proxy for their grandparents and had their father, uncles (including two who had died in England as children), and aunts adopted and sealed together as a family, with Apostle Marriner W. Merrill performing the sacred ordinances. In addition, several people who had previously been legally adopted by George Q. and Elizabeth Hoagland Cannon, including my great-grandmother, Rosina Cannon Lambert (referred to by Abram as Rosa), were sealed to their adoptive parents by proxy ordinance. Identification of these family members would have been helpful in fully appreciating this significant family occasion (151–52).

Sometimes representative personal details from the diaries are included. For example, Abram bought a bicycle in June 1894 and rode it downtown to his office (517, 572), attended horse races with Joseph F. Smith and John Q. Cannon (393), cared for his wife Sarah when she miscarried in June 1894 (521), and was happy to learn that Mina liked her new house (307). I probably would have chosen to include more personal entries like these, though this would have left less space for entries on politics, theological discussions, or business matters, which, as Lyman explains, were his main focus. Abram often described family dinners, attendance at plays with one of his wives or a daughter, children’s birthdays, visits to extended family members, priesthood blessings, and other domestic details involving his wives and children. He clearly had great affection for his wives, children, and extended family, including his rapscallion brother Frank.

I would have included more personal entries for two reasons. First, they tend to soften the image of Abram as a mildly obsessive-compulsive, driven businessman, and stern-speaking preacher. Second, Abram was a very good, well-intentioned person who occasionally let down his guard, and these endearing qualities are exhibited more in personal entries than by the business, Church, and political matters recorded in such rich detail. Virtually anyone in the extended family (and many beyond) sent for Abram to give a priesthood blessing in times of need, an important indication of how those around him viewed him.

A question arises whether this volume was needed, given the publication of Dennis B. Horne’s edition, *An Apostle’s Record: The Journals of Abraham H. Cannon, Member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, 1889–1896* (Clearfield, Utah: Gnolaum Books, 2004). I firmly answer yes. The earlier volume avoids some

of the more controversial passages from the diaries and excludes much of the rich information regarding business matters. The Signature Books volume includes many important passages omitted from the edition by Horne, but Horne's volume also includes pre-1889 entries. Obviously, the ideal situation would be a more complete, multi-volume edition of the diaries, rather than these selected excerpts, excellent though they are.

All in all, *Candid Insights of a Mormon Apostle* is an important contribution to Mormon scholarship. No other single diary (with the possible exception of George Q. Cannon's diary, never widely available to historians) is as important to understanding the first half of the critical 1890s in the Church and Utah as the Abram Cannon diary. Minor complaints notwithstanding, Edward Leo Lyman has done a superb job of editing these critical diaries, making them readable and useful, and also providing helpful annotations. The volume is handsomely printed and bound and will take its side beside other important editions of Mormon diaries.

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David F. Holland. *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. x, 286 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth: \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-19-975361-1

Reviewed by Benjamin E. Park

"Modern men have been traditionated to believe that a sacred book was the fountain of Divine knowledge," wrote Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt in 1844, shortly before the death of Mormon prophet and revelator Joseph Smith. "However sacred and true may be the principles contained in a book," he continued, "yet these principles were true before they were written," and they thus demonstrated a revelatory process related but distinct from the written text. In the end, "the scriptures are given for the very purpose of inviting and encouraging men to come unto the great fountain of light and truth where they may enjoy all the blessings which are recorded in them, as having been enjoyed by the Ancients."¹

Rather than being a closed canon containing all revealed truth, the biblical

text was meant to encourage—indeed, demand—that humanity continue seeking scriptural truth through divinely appointed leaders. Of course, Pratt believed that Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and the Doctrine and Covenants were tangible reminders that the scriptural canon was indeed open and that revelatory truths were still to be received.

Mormon historiography often points to the LDS belief in an open canon as a radical and unique claim, and indeed there may be some truth to that belief. But what David Holland, professor of history of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has demonstrated in his wonderful new study, *Sacred Borders: Continuing Revelation and Canonical Restraint in Early America*, is that early Mormons were taking part in a long and debated tradition that was very much at the heart of American culture. Indeed, Holland writes, “The idea of an open canon, as wielded by both its celebrants and critics, offers an especially revealing place to look for the interplay of the clashing impulses that shaped early American life” (11). *Sacred Borders* is remarkable in showing how these debates over the scriptural canon reveal broader issues ranging from the question of democratic excesses to the issue of religious pluralism.

In an introduction and conclusion, Holland demonstrates that he is well aware of the modern-day relevance for this topic. He aptly relates how these debates over canonical authority and challenged orthodoxies are in many ways similar to current religious issues like same-sex marriage; for instance, the United Church of Christ, a church at the forefront of LGBT rights, invokes a revelatory comma for its symbol and the phrase “God is still speaking” as its slogan. But a majority of Holland’s analysis is focused on the past. The bulk of the book is separated into five chapters. In the first chapter, Holland engages how English dissenters and founding Puritans in the newly settled American colonies challenged the canonical limits in frontier communities. He then moves on to the period of Great Awakening and American Enlightenment, depicting how religious enthusiasts on the one hand and enlightened skeptics on the other questioned the traditional boundaries of a silent, divine lawgiver. An examination of the American early republic (1776–1815) follows, arguing that it was this generation of citizens tentatively prodding and subtly challenging canonical borders that laid the foundation for later radicals.

In his chapter on “Faith, Doubt, and the Penning of Scripture”—the chapter that includes his analysis of Mormonism—Holland depicts specific religious traditions that not only questioned but supplanted canonical borders. And finally, the last major section focuses on the birth of liberal religious tra-

¹Parley P. Pratt, “The Fountain of Knowledge,” in *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York, Letter to Queen Victoria (Reprinted from the Tenth European Edition,)* *The Fountain of Knowledge; Immortality of the Body, and Intelligence and Affection* (Nauvoo: John Taylor, Printer, 1840), 15, 19.

ditions like the Transcendentalists, closing the book by explaining how an opening of the canon fused its way into the American liberal tradition.

Holland is adamant in insisting that these issues permeated not only fringe society, but also mainstream culture. Many people were puzzled, Holland explains, with how a “presently active Lawgiver” could be reconciled with an “anciently closed law” (40). People of all stripes sought, in Holland’s description, a “communicative God” who could speak to modern-day issues. The most obvious examples are those who offered new scriptural texts, but more common expressions were found in those accepting creedal documents or claiming spiritual authority connecting them to Bible times. Especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where human optimism was at an extreme high, many identified their own circumstances and periods as extensions of scriptural narratives. Beyond peripheral—if popular—figures like Ann Lee and Joseph Smith, Holland traces these debates as they played out in the first generation of Puritans, the sermons of Jonathan Edwards, the letters of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, and closes with Horace Bushnell, one of the most prominent American preachers of the nineteenth century. One of the key contributions of this book is a fresh perspective on many central and, at times, overevaluated figures in American history.

Yet if many people of different classes and backgrounds were poking holes in the established canon, those attempts were constantly stifled by a recurring orthodoxy. “The closed canon served so many crucial purposes,” Holland writes. “In a world where spiritual dangers came at every angle—from self-aggrandizing prelates, anarchic spiritualists, and the hubristic man within—it provided an imposing defense” (28). Canonical restraint, then, served as a potent form of social control, restricting enthusiasm and maintaining some sense of stability. *Sacred Borders* is another testament of the paradox at the center of American culture: a perceivably limitless potential of human liberty on the one hand, yet a constant and at times dominant appeal to limit that very potential. The story of the scriptural canon is a repeating cycle of optimism, the potential of revolution, and a resulting retrenchment.

Historians of Mormonism should be excited about this volume, for it gives an intellectual genealogy for Joseph Smith’s revelatory culture. Indeed, Holland urges his readers: “If we want to understand the era that evoked new scripture from the Transcendentalists and the Shakers and the Mormons, we need to better comprehend the generation that came before” (89). Texts like the Book of Mormon, then, are placed along a long line of texts that challenged the scriptural canon either tentatively (like the Anglican Church’s *Book of Common Prayer*) or overtly (like the Shakers’ *Divine Roll*).

Mormonism is grouped with Methodist minister Lorenzo Dow in being described as “two American manifestations of the same outraged populism” (142) and compared with many other Evangelical works as “a rejoinder to the

Deist argument of revelatory particularity” (147). Such similarities may make some Mormon scholars queasy, as they challenge the traditional narrative of uniqueness that pervades Mormon historiography, but in the end they illuminate early Mormon thought in remarkably new ways. The following passage on the Book of Mormon is an apt example of how such a framework provides fascinating comparisons and contrasts with Mormonism’s contemporaries:

Where the Shakers’ God promised that new revelation would never sanction bigamy or violence or other violations of accepted morality, the Mormon God offered no such safeguards. In fact, the *Book of Mormon* seems to reinforce the idea of a God who retained full and arbitrary sovereignty over moral questions even as it reinvests Him with the power to speak again. . . . God’s constancy inhered in the fact that He spoke more than in the things that he said. . . . Rather than reflect the antebellum trend toward immutable laws of human behavior, the book instead promotes close adherence to the necessarily good but sometimes unpredictable will of a living God. . . . Where the Shakers’ *Divine Roll* carefully removes the most challenging aspect of a continuously revealed religion, the *Book of Mormon* unapologetically opens with it. (148–49)

Only by losing the exceptionalist framework, which Holland clearly does, can Mormonism’s unique aspects be identified and understood.

Perhaps the mark of a truly provocative book is when the reader is left wanting more, and that is precisely how I felt with *Sacred Borders*. With regard to Mormonism, since the text primarily focused on the figure of Joseph Smith, I wish Holland had expanded his scope to engage how Smith’s followers expanded and maintained some sense of a scriptural canon, especially after the Prophet’s death when numerous groups claimed revelatory authority during the succession crisis. It would have also been fascinating to see Holland explore Smith’s perceptibly landmark shift in the 1830s away from direct “Thus saith the Lord” revelations to granting increased significance to priesthood councils, and how these developments either destabilized or centralized an already tenuous understanding of scriptural canon. But it would be difficult to justify dedicating more pages to a particular movement within a narrative that covers many more figures and decades. Beyond Mormonism, I found myself continually hoping that the book would look at more African American and Native American prophetic figures. They would have not only supplemented and expanded Holland’s narrative, but those historiographies would also have greatly benefited from Holland’s incisive analysis.

Besides the general context and historical insights, *Sacred Borders* is a significant contribution to Mormon history in at least two ways. First, it demonstrates the benefits that the discipline of intellectual history can bring to the study of Mormonism. Most specifically, Holland notes that reconstructing an ideological environment can save historians from constantly searching for social and natural explanations for religious movements. This approach by no

means requires us to ignore these explanations, he explains, “but in wrestling with the social contexts of these movements, we should not forget that they spoke to their culture’s most pressing ideas as well as its most troubling anxieties.” To find the real influences on these prophetic and religious figures, historians need not struggle to find “magic worldviews” or “hermetic traditions” for origins, because “supplies enough to build a lasting prophetic message existed within the mainstream of American intellectual history” (169). Reconstructing the ideological climate of early Mormonism, rather than a direct intellectual genealogy, can help historians move beyond traditional pitfalls that have plagued LDS historiography.

Previous mistreatments of intellectual history within Mormon studies may have left many skeptical of this type of approach, but *Sacred Borders* aptly demonstrates the benefits of an empathetic framework analyzing Mormonism’s world of ideas. Holland submits his volume as “another example of how taking the historical pursuits of God seriously—on their own terms—can enrich our comprehension of the human story” (218). And indeed, the book succeeds to a remarkable degree. Holland is persuasive in arguing for the fact that ideas matter and that ideas are of great help in contextualizing and understanding a culture’s development.

The second major contribution of *Sacred Borders* is not so much what the book *says* as what it *does*. Some may question whether this monograph could be described as a work of “Mormon studies”—and the fact that the text devotes only a handful of pages to Mormonism likely answers the question in the negative—but the type of approach Holland utilizes will be of the utmost importance for the future development of LDS history. By presenting Joseph Smith as case study rather than as a leading player in the narrative, Holland makes Mormonism much more pertinent to a wider audience of scholars. Historians of Mormonism have, for several decades now, argued that their scholarship’s relevance would increasingly depend on its ability to speak to broader issues and wider concerns. This goal will only be accomplished, however, when scholars are willing to replace early Mormonism with American culture more broadly as the center players in their narrative. David Holland has done this, and should be commended for it: He has made Mormonism much more relevant to broader scholarship. And that, in itself, is an important revelation.

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BOOK NOTICES

Andrew H. Hedges and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. *Through the Lens: The Original 1907 Church History Photographs of George Edward Anderson*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010. xiv, 106 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$49.99. ISBN 978-1-60641-236-7

Over the course of the book's 106 pages, the authors present 51 photographs taken by Latter-day Saint George Edward Anderson during his 1907 tour of historic Mormon sites, a detour he took en route to a mission in Great Britain. The photographs are all accompanied by a general narrative of Mormon history and are published in either sepia tones or black and white on high-gloss pages to vivid effect. Aside from those in the frontispiece, the prologue, and the chapter on Anderson's techniques, the photographs are grouped geographically, following Church history order (New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois) although Anderson began in Missouri, then went to Illinois, Ohio, New York, and Vermont.

In "People" are, for example, George Edward Anderson, his wife, Olive Lowry Anderson, and their children, and three images of John B.

McLallen, Anderson's host in Breckenridge, Missouri, including the glass plate negative.

"Places" include Tunbridge Gore, Vermont (this photo seems to be the latest taken, in February 1908); Squire Murdock's farm in Norwich, Vermont, the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument at Sharon, Vermont; the Sacred Grove, in Manchester, New York, in full summer (August 13, 1907); the frame home of Joseph Smith Sr. and Lucy Mack Smith in Manchester; the tombstone of Joseph Jr. and Emma's first son, who died at birth in Harmony, Pennsylvania; and the location of the Colesville Branch, at Nineveh, New York.

Ohio sites include the Kirtland Temple, the home of Newel Kimball Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney, and Joseph and Emma's Kirtland home.

Missouri sites include the temple site in Independence, Missouri, the Church of Christ (Temple Lot), also in Independence, the site of the Mormon settlement on the Big Blue River (1831-33), the valley of Adamondi-Ahman in Daviess County, the millstone at Haun's Mill, the Jacob Whitmer tombstone in Richmond, and the home of David Whitmer

and Julia Ann Whitmer, also in Richmond.

Nauvoo places include the Mansion House, the Nauvoo Temple site and the "wine cellar lot" with the temple property behind buildings, and the homes of such notables as John D. Lee and Agatha Woolsey Lee, Wilford Woodruff and Phoebe Chase Kimball Woodruff, and Heber Chase Kimball and Vilate Murray Kimball,

Across the river in Lee County, Iowa, is Potter's Slough, the "traditional site of the miracle of the quail."

Outside the chronological frame is an Anderson photograph, taken in 1913, of the traditional site of Brigham Young's birthplace at Whittingham, Vermont.

The editors' prologue acknowledges that all of Anderson's photographs reproduced in *Through the Lens* have been published previously but notes that he is seldom identified as the photographer. Their goal is to "help to permanently establish Anderson's remarkable and singular contribution to preserving the story of the Restoration through this amazing photographic record" (3). They also explain Anderson's photographic processes, his equipment, and the methods of preservation and restoration used on the photographs.

The book provides few details about Anderson's mission, instead concentrating on the Restoration-era history. For example, Anderson's "two trips . . . to Tunbridge, Vermont, . . . underscore that it was here that the story of the Smith family begins" (17). They then continue with a history of the Smith family. A photograph of the Joseph and Emma Smith

home in Kirtland, shows, but does not identify, ten individuals sitting in chairs and on the ground in front of the large, white, two-story home, only a porch and one outside wall of which are visible.

Dan A. Lisonbee and Janet L. Lisonbee. *Far West, Missouri: It Shall Be Called Most Holy*. Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2010. viii, 186 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, appendices, index. Paper: \$11.89. ISBN 1-59955-334-1

In *Far West, Missouri*, Dan and Janet Lisonbee provide a history of the Far West region during the years of the Mormon War, as well as detailed historical accounts of other significant events. "There is more to the story of Far West than the Mormon War," they write. "This book is primarily written to tell other parts of Far West's history and significance, utilizing eyewitness accounts in the journals and personal histories of many early Mormon settlers" (vii).

The Lisonbees begin by summarizing the significance of the Missouri years for Mormonism (1831–36), followed by accounts of the creation and settlement of Caldwell County. These beginnings are followed by a few chapters about daily life in Far West, Church governance, and revelations. Chapters 7–9 discuss Adam-ondi-Ahman and the revelation about the Far West Temple, now Doctrine and Covenants 115. Those chapters are followed by descriptions of conflicts and battles.

The final few chapters highlight key points from Joseph Smith's incarceration in Liberty Jail, the Mormon exodus from Missouri in the winter of 1838–39, and the cornerstone laying for the Far West Temple, prior to the departure of the Twelve on a mission to England. The Lisonbees conclude that, while Far West is currently not playing an active role in Church life, the region is sacred because (1) it is the location where Adam and Eve lived, (2) the many trials of Saints in the area make it "hallowed ground," and (3) revelation promises the eventual construction of the City of Zion in the region. Thus, its past and future significance indeed make it a "most holy" place (174; D&C 57:2).

One element that may be of particular interest to readers is the linear development of revelations throughout the book. The authors show how the progression of events fits into the various revelations given by Joseph Smith about Far West and the surrounding areas. For instance, they note Smith's April 26, 1838, prophecy in Chapter 1 "one year from this day let them re-commence laying the foundation of my house." Many non-Mormons decried the fulfillment of this prophecy since the Mormons had been expelled from the state before the indicated date. However, on the exact date prophesied, a majority of the Twelve Apostles returned to Far West and laid the cornerstone (168).

An interesting account is that of Heber C. Kimball who recorded an anecdote about the Adamic altars at Adam-ondi-Ahman that occurred in 1838:

The Prophet Joseph called upon

Brigham, myself and others, saying, "Brethren, come, go along with me and I will show you something." He led us a short distance to a place where were ruins of three altars built of stone, one above the other, and one standing a little back of the other, like unto the pulpits in the Kirtland Temple, representing the order of the three grades of priesthood. "There," said Joseph, "is the place where Adam offered up sacrifice after he was cast out of the garden." The altar stood at the highest point of the bluff. I went and examined the place several times while I remained there. (76)

Melissa G. Moore and M. Bridget Cook. *Shattered Silence: The Untold Story of a Serial Killer's Daughter*. Springville, Utah: CFI, 2009. xiii, 241 pp. Photographs, explanations. Paper: \$16.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-238-5

In forty-one chapters of descriptive storytelling, Melissa Moore tells the tale of her life as the daughter of the Happy Face serial killer. Beginning with her childhood in Washington state, Melissa struggles to meet the challenges of life while balancing a complicated relationship with her disintegrating family. The oldest of three children, Melissa feels responsible for protecting her brother and sister as their parents' relationship falls apart. The author documents her own horrible experiences with her father, including his repeated torturing and killing of cats and small dogs, disre-

spectful treatment of women, and angry outbursts against family and friends.

Some time after Melissa finished the third grade, her mother took the children and left Melissa's father to settle down with her mother in a small home in Spokane, Washington. Adjusting to her parents' divorce and a new life in a new city, Melissa's life is further disrupted when her mother marries an abusive mute named Robert when Melissa is in the fifth grade. She struggles to fit into this new location, deal with the ups and downs of adolescence, endure infrequent visits from her father, and avoid confrontations with her new stepfather, who physically abuses her mother and the other children.

Melissa yearns for a quiet and peaceful home, free from the toils of her present environment. In a moment of desperation and despair, Melissa prays in the damp basement of her grandmother's home and asks God to give hope to her and her family. After the prayer, she describes the subtle feelings of inadequacy and faith she experienced:

I quickly wiped my tears away, embarrassed for having a breakdown and showing emotion, even though no one was around to see it. I did not like feeling vulnerable and weak, and I was glad that none of my family had come downstairs in my moment of despair. I laid down on my cot and wrapped my sleeping bag around me. I thought about clean, bright walls and new carpet and appliances. I thought about not being embarrassed to ask my friends to stay the night or to visit,

and I thought about what it would be like for me to feel normal. (172)

When she was a sophomore in high school, Melissa discovered that her father had been arrested for murder. Known by the media as the "Happy Face Killer" for the anonymous letters he signed with a smiley face, Melissa's father was arrested for the murder of his girlfriend, Julie, and was subsequently tied to the murders of seven other women. He was convicted and sentenced to serve three consecutive life sentences in Oregon. Melissa must then decide how to approach the rest of her life as the daughter of a serial killer.

Not surprisingly, Melissa struggled to establish healthy relationships with the men in her life. She experienced many failed experiments and much heartbreak, including a high school relationship that led to a pregnancy. It ended brutally when she refused to get an abortion and her boyfriend beat her with a baseball bat. She met Sam Moore at an LDS dance she attended with a college friend. After dating for three months, Melissa and Sam became engaged and quietly married in a small wedding chapel. Sam's family opposed the marriage because Melissa was not LDS. A year after the birth of their daughter, Melissa met the missionaries, took the discussions, was eventually baptized, and began to enjoy a spiritually stable life with her husband, daughter, and newborn son.

One day, her daughter asked Melissa the whereabouts of her father,

leading Melissa to confront the issue of where to place her father in her new idea of what a family should be. She enlisted the help of TV's Dr. Phil to gain new perspective on her situation and used her emotional resources to come to terms with her traumatic childhood. With the help of the Church, her loving husband, and a developing relationship with the God she hardly knew in childhood, Melissa concludes her book by describing her love for the life she has managed to salvage.

John Yves Bizimana. *Escape from Rwanda*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010. ix, 144 pp. Photographs, captions. Hardbound: \$18.99. ISBN 978-1-60641-830-7

This memoir of John Yves Bizimana recounts the story in ten fairly short chapters of a young man who survived the Rwandan genocide of the 1990s and eventually converted to Mormonism. Mormon historians may be interested in *Escape from Rwanda* because it depicts some of the struggles that Latter-day Saints could have faced in both Africa and Europe over the past two decades. After losing both his father and his mother at an early age and in the wake of the Rwandan revolution, John clung to his lifelong dream of coming to America, but that road proved to be long and arduous.

The narrative begins by walking the reader through a jungle of death, sacrifice, and loss and ends with John's testimony of "the hand of divine providence" (3). Juxtaposed

against nostalgic descriptions of his loving parents and two younger siblings are the horrific images of the Rwandan genocide, which began when he was seven. John describes his first encounter with violence: "Scores of people kept coming into the stadium. They also had fled the massacres that were pervasive around the country. I saw that some of them were badly injured. I saw men and women with missing limbs and children bleeding, but these were of no import compared to the extreme scenes of horrific barbarity that my seven-year-old eyes would later behold" (25).

Eventually the young boy and his siblings were sent to school in several neighboring countries outside of Rwanda, thanks to help from his extended family. He excelled in school and immersed himself in learning, eagerly seizing multiple chances to speak new languages. He became a polyglot, speaking four languages and, at age fifteen, found himself in Europe where he began his secondary education.

Playing basketball on a public court in Belgium one day, John encountered a pair of tall, white, American missionaries. Intrigued by their appearance and obvious nationality, he approached them. After explaining his own history to them, one of the missionaries almost casually gave John the key that was the turning point of his faith: "People usually became awkward and apologetic when I told them my story. So I added, 'You know, when most people hear that, they get awkward and apologetic, but you surprised me.

You reacted differently.’ With the same casualness one of the missionaries replied, ‘Oh, well, that’s because I know where they are,’ and he confidently lifted his finger to point to the sky” (110).

After many lessons from the missionaries and a few weeks of self-introspection, John converted to the Church and was baptized on August 22, 2004, while living in Belgium. By the time he finished his secondary education, John had taken the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). He applied to Brigham Young University, and an American family in Brussels provided his funding. He recently graduated from BYU with a bachelor’s degree in economics.

Escape from Rwanda fills a gap in LDS historical literature, which richly documents the persecution and suffering of the Church’s first generation. This very contemporary account of a struggle for faith and freedom is a reminder that the Church now spans the globe and that spirituality is a life-and-death matter. This book offers a glimpse into the life of a fellow Saint who is a voice from the international Church.

Marlene Bateman Sullivan. *Brigham’s Boys*. Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, Inc., 2009. xiv, 184 pp. Photographs, notes. Paper: \$13.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-124-1

Marlene Bateman Sullivan has given the name of “Brigham’s Boys” to sixteen men who built up the LDS Church during the 1850s and personally advised Brigham Young.

Based on research in their journals, which are cited at the end of each chapter, and other historical records, such as newspaper articles, she has compiled biographies for George Washington Bean, John M. Bernhisel, James S. Brown, Howard Egan, Jacob Hamblin, Ephraim K. Hanks, Edward Hunter, Daniel W. Jones, John D. Lee, Jesse C. Little, Isaac Morley, Thomas Rhoades, Thomas E. Ricks, Orrin Porter Rockwell, Lot Smith, and Hosea Stout. Each chapter deals with a different individual.

According to Sullivan, “*Brigham’s Boys* examines the personal story behind the men Brigham Young relied upon to help tame the West and build up the Great Basin, by focusing on the relationship they had with Brigham and showing how they worked together to build Zion” (ix).

As an example of service, Thomas E. Ricks served a mission with a number of other men and “although Brigham told the missionaries they could go home for the winter, Thomas stayed in Las Vegas, feeling he was needed there” (144).

Each chapter describes the personal relationship Brigham Young had with each man. When James S. Brown returned to Salt Lake City in 1876 and reported on his mission to the Indians near the Colorado River to Brigham Young, he said: “If I had been President Young’s own son he could not have received me more cordially than he did when I reached his office” (39).

Brigham’s Boys also includes the controversial John D. Lee. Of him Sullivan says, “Although his name is

forever linked with the Mountain Meadows Massacre, he had served the Church faithfully for many years prior to that tragic event" (99). After giving an account of the massacre, she concludes by providing more examples of Lee's faithfulness to Brigham Young.

Brigham Young valued the skills of men from many different backgrounds. For example, John Milton Bernhisel was a physician, Howard Egan was a sailor, and Edward Hunter was a county commissioner. Brigham Young relied on their loyalty, their willingness to serve, and exemplary sacrifice.

In addition to *Brigham's Boys*, Marlene Sullivan has written five other nonfiction books about early LDS members.

Lori E. Woodland. *Beloved Emma: The Life Story of Emma Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2008. iii, 194 pp. Paintings, descendancy chart, notes, index, bibliography. Hardcover: \$24.95. ISBN 10: 1590388283

Beloved Emma is a fictionalized history about Emma Hale Smith. Lori E. Woodland first began giving presentations on Emma's life in 2000 while working at BYU-Idaho. As she made presentations at LDS Church functions in the area, her interest increased. This book is a compilation of her presentations, which quotes excerpts from letters, journals, and other biographies, such as Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery's *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale*

Smith (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

Woodland begins by describing Emma's life before she met Joseph Smith, then continues:

When Joseph entered the inn of Isaac and Elizabeth Hale to board on that cold November day, the attraction between him and Emma seemed almost immediate. He was not blind to her good looks and sense of humor, and she enjoyed his thoughtful and kind manner.

Though Emma was somewhat reserved in social settings and sheltered from the harshness of the world, it was evident to him that she was intelligent and had a mind of her own. In turn, Emma, who was nearly a year and a half older than Joseph, was impressed with his innocent self-confidence and maturity. (6)

The following chapters tell the familiar events of Joseph Smith's life: his and Emma's courtship and marriage, Joseph's receipt and protection of the plates, translating the Book of Mormon, Martin Harris's losing the first 116 pages, the organization of the Church, the organization of the school of the prophets, the construction of the Kirtland Temple, Joseph's incarceration in Liberty Jail, and his martyrdom.

Woodland describes Emma's compilation of the first hymnal in Kirtland and her struggle with polygamy: "Emma vacillated between acceptance and rejection of the principle. Elder Orson Pratt related that she 'at times fought against him with all her heart, and then again she would break down in her feelings, and humble herself before God and call upon His holy name, and would

then lead forth ladies and place their hands in the hands of Joseph, and they were married to him according to the law of God” (124).

After Joseph’s death, “Heber C. Kimball and others visited her [Emma’s] home on various occasions and attempted to persuade her to go west with the main body of the Church, she firmly declined their invitations” (154). Woodland comments in her epilogue: “I have no more information than anyone else regarding Emma’s eternal future. What I do know is that if ever I am blessed with the opportunity to meet Emma, I hope and pray that as we embrace, rather than my having to whisper in her ear, ‘I’m sorry,’ she will whisper in mine, ‘Thank you’” (174).

David J. Howlett, Barbara B. Walden, and John C. Hamer. *Community of Christ: An Illustrated History*. Independence: Herald Publishing House, 2010. xvi, 72 pp. 86 Photographs, 12 maps, two diagrams. Paper: \$19.95. ISBN 978-0-830914-90-6

Community of Christ: An Illustrated History provides an easy to read, colorful, and informally written history of Community of Christ. Rather than using an annotated, academic format, it is large format (8x10 inches) and laid out with full-color and black and white illustrations on every page, maps (also full color) and “intelligently written, accessible text” (back cover). The back cover also identifies a broad audience: “This is “an ideal book for Sunday

School classes, new and old members, and those curious about the ongoing story that earlier Community of Christ members called ‘a marvelous work and a wonder.’”

David J. Howlett is a sixth-generation member of Community of Christ, Barbara J. Walden is executive director of the Community of Christ Historic Sites Foundation, and John C. Hamer is a professional map-maker and president-elect of the John Whitmer Historical Association (72). They describe their “sacred story (back cover) including its origin, leaders, gatherings, dissensions, and places of worship.”

“‘A great and marvelous work is about to come forth!’ exuberantly proclaimed early missionaries in our church. Taken from our scriptures, this proclamation summed up the hopes of Americans from many walks of life at the dawn of the nineteenth century” (2). This paragraph, the first in the book, begins a section that describes how, in the early nineteenth century, “Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and other upstart denominations” were beginning to challenge dominant groups like “the Congregationalists of New England and the Episcopalians of the South.” The authors state: “Out of this age of reform, revival, and restoration, our own movement was born” (2–3).

Next is an account of Joseph Smith Jr., founder of the movement. “His story began as a teenaged boy kneeling in the woods in upstate New York, praying for answers to the religious questions that had divided his family and neighbors. The guid-

ance he received in the grove began a life-long journey with God that brought both exhilarating joy and heartache to Joseph and his family. Since his birth over two centuries ago, Joseph's leadership and direction have inspired hundreds of Christian denominations, including Community of Christ" (4). The authors describe how, after Joseph received this initial guidance, he "continued to have significant spiritual experiences," one of which resulted in the Book of Mormon. Joseph and a "small gathering of believers" organized themselves officially as the "Church of Christ" in 1830 in New York (5).

The sections that follow explain the early geographical centers of the Church. As New York "became an increasingly difficult environment for members of the new church," the Saints moved west to Missouri and Ohio, plagued by "mobs" and financial crises. After they settled in Nauvoo, Illinois, the narrative relates the death of Joseph Smith Jr., resulting in competition among leaders of different groups including the Latter-day Saints who followed Brigham Young and the Twelve to Utah, the followers of Sidney Rigdon who opposed the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy and fled to Pittsburgh, and the followers of James J. Strang, who "claimed to inherit Joseph Smith's prophetic mantle" (16–18). An interesting diagram shows the "diverging branches" (19).

The narrative then focuses on the "reorganization" branch, a movement headed by Jason Briggs and Zenos Gurley Sr. in the early 1850s,

and describes how God "guided" Joseph Smith III, the twenty-seven-year-old son of Joseph Jr. and Emma Smith, to accept the group's leadership in 1860.

Relations with the "Mormon" branch that moved west with Brigham Young were fraught with conflict. Specifically, "the massacre of roughly one hundred and twenty non-member men, women, and children on their way to California by Mormons popularized the belief that Brigham Young's 'Destroying Angels' routinely assassinated his opponents" as did other stories of "escapes from Utah." The authors explain that, although the stories grew "better with each telling," they continue to be "part of the family lore of many church members today" (26).

The next pages present detailed accounts of missionary efforts outside the United States and descriptions of the *Latter Day Saints' Herald*, the Old Stone Church constructed in Independence in 1868, and the Church Seal depicting a palm tree to "represent the church presence in French Polynesia" (33). Also included is a description of early hymns and historic sites important to the Reorganization.

In addition to discussing Emma Hale Smith Bidamon's life after Joseph Jr.'s death, the authors also identify other important women in the Church, educational efforts, land purchased in Independence, community endeavors, the Auditorium where "World Conferences" are held, and the organizational structure of the Church.

The last sections address the international Church, its seminary program for “professionally train[ing] our own membership without having to rely entirely on the institutions of fellow Christian denominations,” periodicals, and such historic sites as the Kirtland Temple and Liberty Hall. It concludes with photos and descriptions of the temple in Independence (1990–94), the extension of priesthood ordination to women, the “eight sacraments” of the Church, the decision to be known as “Community of Christ,” and a brief biography of the current prophet and president, Stephen M. Veazey.

The maps and illustrations that accompany the descriptions (including beautiful shots of the interior of the Independence Temple and Auditorium) greatly add to this book’s appeal.

E. Dale LeBaron. *Benjamin F. Johnson: Friend to the Prophets*. Springville, Utah: CFI, an imprint of Cedar Fort Inc., 2008. xiii, 248 pp. Photographs, bibliography, appendix, index. Paper: \$17.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-171-5

This biography presents a history of Benjamin Franklin Johnson (1818–1905) and his contributions to the nineteenth-century LDS Church. The “Prophets” in the title begin with Joseph Smith and extend through Joseph F. Smith. Johnson joined the Church in 1831 at age thirteen in Pomfret, New York.

E. Dale LeBaron, Johnson’s great-grandson, wrote his dissertation

about Johnson and completed this revision of his dissertation the year before his death. He received his B.A., M.S., and Ed.D. from Brigham Young University, then taught Church history and doctrine at BYU during his career, and also wrote on the Church in Africa after the 1978 revelation extending priesthood ordination to worthy black men.

LeBaron says his goal in writing the book is to provide “a legacy of faith which should impact his [Johnson’s] posterity and bring eternal blessings as ‘the hearts of the children . . . turn to their fathers,’” then added this hope: “May those who read his story, cherish it” (xiii).

The book begins with a brief overview of how Johnson’s parents met and married, then describes his childhood in New York in his large family. He was the tenth of sixteen children. The book is organized in twelve chapters that deal with Johnson’s background, missions for the Church, and role in colonizing the West. LeBaron’s narrative consists of two parallel and chronological accounts: the story of Johnson and his family and the story of the early Church. Johnson followed the Saints on their successive moves to Ohio in 1833 with his parents Ezekiel Johnson and Julia Hills Johnson, to Missouri in 1836, to Illinois in 1839, then on to Utah. He served a mission in the “Sandwich Islands” in 1852–55.

He married seven wives between 1843 and 1886 and fathered forty-five children. He had been taught about plural marriage by Joseph Smith personally, “a shocking expe-

rience for Benjamin,” comments LeBaron. “The whole idea was in strong opposition to his puritan background as well as the accepted standards of American society. However, Benjamin had great faith in Joseph Smith as a prophet of God” (49). Johnson became a staunch defender of the principle and “felt a personal responsibility to teach and defend plural marriage for he had been given this special charge by the First Presidency when he was called as a missionary” (98). In 1882, he and his family moved first to Arizona to avoid federal prosecution for polygamy, and then to Mexico in 1890.

LeBaron summarizes Johnson’s contribution as “a pioneer and colonizer. In addition to his Church assignments and his never-ending devotion to missionary work . . . he became known as one of the most prominent and influential men in the [Utah] territory” (xii). “Benjamin impressed and inspired others. His dignity, his intense faith, and his love for others made an indelible mark upon those who came in contact with him. His appearance and demeanor particularly impressed the youth” (196). He died in Spring Lake, Utah, in 1905.

LeBaron mainly relies on Johnson’s hand-written memoir, “My Life’s Review,” written in 1885 when he was sixty-seven (xii). LeBaron also collected letters from Johnson’s mother, Julia Hills Johnson, Johnson’s first wife, Melissa Bloomfield LeBaron, his daughter Cassandra, and his brother, George S. Gibbs. LeBaron says, “Although Benjamin’s mortal ministry had come to an end, his posterity and influence continue

to increase. Seventy-five years after his death there were 15,778 known descendants” (196).

Richard E. Bennett. *School of the Prophet: Joseph Smith Learns the First Principles, 1820–1830*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2010. xi, 163 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover: \$21.99. ISBN 978-1-59038-996-6

In this book, Richard E. Bennett has brought to the table his personal insights along with lesser-known historical facts to choreograph the transformation of the young Joseph Smith from a farmboy to a leader-prophet. He says in his introduction: “I have tried to include in this work fresh, new historical information and insights to accompany my doctrinal interpretations” (ix).

Bennett, a professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, has authored several books and many articles during his career as a historian and professor. He received his Ph.D. in American history from Wayne State University, served as the head of the Department of Archives and Special Collections for the University of Manitoba, and has been a member of BYU’s faculty since 1997.

He describes the period from 1820 to 1830 as a “ten-year incubation period” (2) for Joseph Smith during which God prepared him to lead the Church by establishing “in him a pattern for instruction and conversion” (5). That pattern, ac-

cording to Bennett, is what each individual must experience in his or her own life for the Restoration to become “a deeply personal matter of the soul” (4).

In each chapter, he first reviews one of the first principles of the gospel (faith, repentance, baptism, etc.), interweaves historical background, and then applies the principle to the experiences that mark the transformation of Joseph Smith.

Replete with scriptural citations, quotations from those who knew Joseph Smith in life, and later Church leaders, Bennett’s work includes his own analysis of Joseph’s spiritual transformation through his experiences. On the principle of repentance, Bennett writes: “According to the account written by the ‘second elder’ of this dispensation, Oliver Cowdery, one of the first things Joseph remembered the angel Moroni telling him that night was ‘that his sins were forgiven, and that his prayers were heard.’ Before the mission of translating the Book of Mormon could begin, the message of forgiveness first had to be communicated. Thus, if faith in God had opened the heavens the first time, faith unto repentance opened them the second time” (37–38; internal citations removed).

George Q. Cannon, who knew Joseph in the Nauvoo period and later wrote a biography about him, also spoke on the topic of repentance, describing the annual visits of the Angel Moroni this way: “Each time, the messenger visited him on that consecrated spot; chastening him to patience, exacting anew a covenant of self-sacrificing fidelity to the trust,

and extending the counsels and instructions pertaining to the reestablishment, at the proper hour, of the Church of Christ upon the earth” (41).

Bennett presents a portrait of Joseph as a product of divine tutoring, being taught the principles of faith, repentance, baptism, the Holy Ghost, and endurance to the end.

Garold D. Barney. *Mormons, Indians, and the Ghost Dance Religion of 1890*. 2d ed. Boulder, Colo.: Bäu Press, 2010. 1,200 pp. Photographs, footnotes, bibliography. No index. Paper: \$18.95. ISBN: 978-0- 9820467-5-3

Mormons, Indians, and the Ghost Dance Religion of 1890, in an updated addition with a new foreword by Paul M. Edwards, professor at Baker University in Kansas City, Missouri, compares and contrasts Mormonism to the Native American Ghost Dance religion and investigates the relationship between Native American peoples and Mormons on the Western frontier. Garold Barney argues that “Mormons and Indians became people of oppression,” meaning both were oppressed by those who did not understand them (11). The book “explore[s] those traditions of Mormonism which may have influenced the Ghost Dance Religion and the Indian Prophet, Wovoka. . . . This writing will attempt to review those socio-religious conditions prevailing on the frontier that gave rise to Mormon and Indian re-

vivalism" (11–12).

Barney first documents the concept that "American Indians were 'remnants' of the lost tribes of Israel," an idea "unique neither to Western New York nor to the Mormon movement in 1830" (14). Mormonism emphasized this belief, however, through the Book of Mormon, which emphasizes the Native Americans' lineage as Israelite and instills hope for their redemption through the preaching of the Mormon gospel. As a result, Mormons believed that Native Americans had every right to be considered equal in standing with whites.

Barney's work incorporates photographs portraying scenes from Mormon history and Ghost Dance history, including a photograph of the Prophet Wovoka and other images of Native American Ghost Dancers, traditional costumes, and ritual dances. Other photographs

are of the historic Mormon Trail, grave markers in Iowa, and signs marking historical sites.

As other points of comparison, Barney argues that both faiths involved young prophets, both groups believed that Native Americans were a "chosen" people, both were millennialistic (the Ghost Dance "apostles . . . set the date of 'spring of 1891' as the time of return of the Messiah," 171), and both attracted violent opposition. Barney compares the altercation at Haun's Mill and the massacre at Wounded Knee. Wounded Knee ended the Ghost Dance religion; and Mormons refocused their missionary efforts away from Native Americans and to other parts of the world. Barney writes, "The year 1890 ended in a tragedy for the Indian People and the Mormons as well. The vision of each people was blurred" (187).